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THE BRITISH  
MUSEUM  
QUARTERLY

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VOLUME XXVIII

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# THE BRITISH MUSEUM QUARTERLY

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# THE BRITISH MUSEUM QUARTERLY

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The cover illustration reproduces a woodcut, 'The  
Choir Practice', from Rodericus Zamorensis, *Spiegel  
des menschlichen Lebens*, printed at Augsburg by  
Gunther Zainer. c. 1475.

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B.M.Q., xxvii, 3/4  
*Corrigendum, page 108*

ROSENBERG (Isaac). Moses. A play. *Paragon Printing Works: London, 1916. 16°.*

STEIN (Gertrude). Three Lives. Stories of the Good Anna, Melanctha and the Gentle Lena. Grafton Press: New York, 1909. 8°.

A copy of the first issue of the author's first book, written in 1903 and published in an edition of 1,000 copies at the author's own expense. The unsold sheets were reissued by John Lane, London, in 1915 and again in 1920.

## THE HARRISON COLLECTION OF DIE PROOFS OF POSTAGE STAMPS

THE Department of Printed Books has recently acquired a representative collection of die proofs for postage stamps taken from the master dies executed by the late J. A. C. Harrison, formerly chief portrait engraver of Waterlow & Sons Ltd.

John Augustus Charles Harrison was born in Manchester on 5 August 1872, the son of Samuel Harrison the line-engraver, and grandson of John Harrison the artist and heraldic painter. Of his three brothers two, Thomas and Wilfred, were accomplished engravers. Samuel Harrison went to the United States at the end of the nineteenth century and Thomas and Wilfred later joined him there. The engraving firm of Harrison and Simpson, founded by Wilfred Harrison in Boston, is still in existence, although no member of the Harrison family is now connected with it. John Harrison was apprenticed to his father at the age of thirteen and attended art classes in Birmingham, where he proved an apt pupil with burin and brush alike. When he was seventeen he joined the firm of Waterlow Brothers and Layton (later to become Waterlow & Sons Ltd.) as an ornamental engraver. Towards the end of the century he left their employment to become a free-lance engraver, and quickly earned a wide reputation for his skill in the design and production of line-engraved heraldic book-plates. There were many sides to Harrison's artistic nature. As well as an engraver and designer he was a competent water-colourist and also keenly interested in the stage. His family still possess several gouache paintings of Sir Henry Irving and Forbes Robertson in some of their leading roles which Harrison sketched at the theatre. He himself was also a gifted actor and producer and for many years was a prominent member of the Ingoldsby Dramatic Club in London, one of the country's leading societies which in 1960 celebrated its centenary. During the period of the First World War, when engraving work was difficult to obtain, Harrison did in fact play several professional roles in some of the early films.<sup>1</sup>

On the death of King Edward VII a new series of postage stamps became necessary, and the task of preparing dies and printing plates was given to the Royal Mint, who commissioned Harrison to engrave the dies. The Postmaster-General invited a number of artists to submit essays, but none of these was found to be suitable. Bertram (afterwards Sir Bertram) Mackennal, the Australian sculptor who was working on coinage and medal heads of King George V at the time, was then asked to prepare stamp designs incorporating a portrait of His Majesty, who himself selected a three-quarter-face photograph by W. and D. Downey, the Court photographers.



The British portion of this collection is particularly interesting, containing as it does not only proofs from the master dies engraved by Harrison for the postage-stamp issues in 1911 and 1912, but numerous examples of trial engravings and sketches. The intaglio engraver of book-plates was striving to adjust himself to the technique of engraving in relief for the most restrictive medium of the postage stamp. Eventually he was to master the technique of relief-engraving, a process diametrically opposed to that in which he had been trained. Few engravers have been known to work successfully in both methods, and probably Harrison's only equal in this versatility was Ferdinand Schirnböck (1859-1930), who was acknowledged to be the finest stamp engraver in Europe at this time.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless Harrison's first ventures in relief-engraving (the halfpenny and one-penny stamps released on Coronation Day, 1911) were not entirely successful (Pl. 1 *a, b*). Both stamps incorporated the King's three-quarter-face portrait surmounted by the Imperial Crown and surrounded by the florid embellishment beloved of late-Victorian and Edwardian stamp designers. The halfpenny vignette was flanked by two rather plump dolphins, while the frame of the one-penny denomination contained a lion couchant at the base. The shading on the lion's body gave it a lean and hungry look which affronted imperial sentiment and provoked reams of correspondence in the press from a vociferous public.<sup>3</sup>

Nor was the choice of portrait a happy one. Harrison was one of the first engravers, but unfortunately not the last, to learn that it is virtually impossible to produce a satisfactory design in relief based on a photograph composed of innumerable fine lines. Although his master dies were superbly engraved and the proofs of the portrait are flawless, he did not realize that in practice heavy inking in the printing process was to clog these fine lines, causing the hair and beard of the King to appear as a mass of solid colour and giving the portrait a blurred effect.<sup>4</sup> Harrison recut his original dies, giving the portrait greater clarity (Pl. 1 *c*), and finally completely re-engraved dies were issued in January 1912, the main improvement being to give the lion a more prosperous, well-fed appearance. Public opinion was not mollified,<sup>5</sup> however, and the Post Office began considering a completely new design for its impending definitive series of stamps.

Early in 1912 Harrison began work on three dies for a completely new definitive series. They were based on the side-face portraits produced by Mackennal for the coinage and medals of the new reign. Examples of proofs from these dies, known as the large and small 'coinage' heads and the medal head, are included in the collection (Pl. 1 *d, e*), together with proofs of similar portraits adopted for postal, stationery, and revenue stamps. These stamps, typographed by Harrison & Sons, apparently met with public approval and remained in use for more than twenty years.

Harrison also engraved the magnificent high-value stamps depicting Britannia and her chariot drawn by three sea-horses. In this case he reverted to his old



technique of intaglio, and this, with the immaculate recess-printing of Waterlow & Sons, produced the finest British stamps since the Penny Black of 1840. A die proof of this design, printed in sepia on thick soft paper, is included in the collection.

After the First World War Harrison, though still primarily working as a heraldic engraver, executed several designs for Perkins, Bacon & Company, including the stamps issued in Raratonga in 1920. The collection includes die proofs of the vignettes showing the portrait of Captain James Cook and views of Avarua.

In the years immediately following the First World War Harrison was approached by firms in Australia and America, but Waterlows were extremely anxious to obtain his services exclusively, so that he eventually agreed that they could retain him to carry out commissions for themselves only. Later he had an agreement to join them on a full-time basis and this continued till 1939. After this he continued to do portrait work for them and they paid him a retaining fee until his death in 1955. As their chief portrait engraver he executed most of the portraits of King George V and King George VI used for the stamps of the Commonwealth printed by Waterlows. In 1936 he also produced a three-quarter-face portrait of King Edward VIII, a proof of which is included in the collection. This portrait die, intended for use on the impending definitive series of the Crown colonies, was never adopted.

The bulk of the collection consists of proofs from dies executed for Waterlows in the period from 1922 to 1937. The earliest example is a die proof in green of the 300 reis denomination in the Independence Centenary series of Brazil, portraying President Pessoa. Other South American portrait stamps which he engraved at this time included those featuring Don R. A. Maldonada y Velasco (Costa Rica, 1924), Señora Morazan (Salvador, 1924) (Pl. 1*f*), and Valdivia, O'Higgins, Columbus, and Balmaceda (Chile, *c.* 1925-7).

The only other British stamps which he engraved in this period were the 1*d.* and 1½*d.* stamps of 1924 and 1925 for the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley (Pl. 1*g*, *h*, *i*),<sup>6</sup> and the 1*d.* and 1½*d.* stamps for the Ninth Postal Union Congress issue of 1929. Two series produced by Waterlows for Portugal in honour of the novelist Camilo Branco and the Marquis de Pombal in 1925 are represented in the collection not only by die proofs but also by colour trials.

In 1926 Harrison produced three series of Commonwealth stamps, all engraved in relief. The first of these consisted of three stamps for New Zealand, one portraying His Majesty in the uniform of a field marshal and the other two showing him in admiral's uniform. As in the case of the 1911 Mackennal ½*d.* and 1*d.* stamps of Great Britain, Harrison's excellent engraving suffered at the hands of the printers in Wellington. The superb die proofs in the collection are in marked contrast with the poorly typographed stamps. Harrison engraved the initial dies for the South African Springbok (½*d.*), Van Riebeeck's Ship (1*d.*), and



the Orange Tree (6*d.*) stamps which were printed first by Waterlows and subsequently by the Government Printer, Pretoria.<sup>7</sup> The third series, the definitive issue of Malta, involved both engraving processes, the pence values being engraved in relief and the shilling values engraved in recess. This series is represented in the collection by a wide range of proofs in red or black of the lower denominations, with and without the King's portrait inserted, and sets of three proofs for each of the higher values (which were bi-coloured) showing vignette and frame together (Pl. 11 *a, b, c*).

Harrison's engravings for the Spanish Red Cross series of 1926 is represented in the collection by a good range of die proofs in progressive stages of execution and colour trials of the completed designs (Pl. 11*d*). The Australian 1½*d.* stamp of 1927 marking the inauguration of the federal parliament buildings in Canberra was engraved by Harrison to the design of an Australian, R. A. Harrison (no relation), who was himself a stamp-engraver and son of T. S. Harrison the former printer of Australian Commonwealth and Papuan stamps.

Later engravings for foreign postage stamps included in the collection comprise a series of die proofs of frame and vignette and colour trials of the Spanish Catacombs Restoration Fund stamps of 1928, the fine portraits of Garzon and Artigas for Uruguayan stamps of 1928-30, and the double profile heads of Kings Prajadhipok and Chao Phya Chakri for the Siamese Chakri Dynasty set of 1932 (Pl. 11*e*).

From 1931 onwards a more colourful policy was adopted in colonial stamp design, and gradually the typographed issues of De la Rue were replaced by handsome pictorial stamps, many of which were line-engraved by Harrison for Waterlows. The first of these was the series for British Guiana celebrating the centenary of the union of the counties of Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice. Each value in the series is represented in the collection by several progressive die proofs and colour trials and also an engraving of the Vandyke three-quarter-face portrait of King George V. This portrait was used for the Antigua issue commemorating the tercentenary of the colony (Pl. 11*f*) and for the definitive series of Sierra Leone in 1932. Three values were added to the Jamaica series in 1932 featuring Columbus Cove (2*d.*), Wag Water River (2½*d.*), and Priestman's River (6*d.*).<sup>8</sup> All three denominations are represented by die proofs of vignette and frame separately and together in various colours.

The fullest range of proofs at different stages in the engraving, together with colour trials, has been provided for the eight stamps issued in 1931 to celebrate the golden jubilee of the British North Borneo Company. One of the remarkable characteristics of Harrison's portraiture is the liveliness with which his subjects were endowed. Two values in this series, portraying a Murut warrior and an orang-utan respectively, demonstrate that Harrison's skill was as effective with animals as it was with human beings (Pl. 11 *g, h*).



In 1934 Harrison engraved dies for the definitive issues of Nyasaland and Sarawak. The former is represented solely by a die proof of the shilling stamp, but the series for Sarawak, portraying the late Sir Charles Vyner Brooke, contains several colour trials as well as die proofs of the vignette (Pl. II 1).

Of Harrison's later work up till his retirement in 1939 little is represented in this collection in the form of die proofs. Probably his best portrait of King George VI was the full-face portrait of the King in admiral's uniform used for the definitive series of Southern Rhodesia (1937), an example of which is included. The only other examples of the many stamps he engraved for this reign of which die proofs have survived are from the issues of the British Solomon Islands and North Borneo, both of which appeared in 1939.

During his long association with Waterlows Harrison also engraved innumerable very fine portraits used for the bank notes and other security documents of many countries.<sup>9</sup> At the same time he continued to engrave book-plates: one of these, a plate commissioned by Lord Lee of Fareham in 1918, incorporated the portraits of Lady Lee and her sister as the female supporters on the coat of arms. Among the most noteworthy of his heraldic bookplates were the plates he designed and engraved for King George V (when Prince of Wales) in 1905, and for the Duke of Northumberland in 1918. After his retirement he continued to design and engrave book-plates, his skill being unimpaired almost to the end of his life. His book-plate engraved for Lt.-Col. Ian Mackenzie, D.S.O., was exhibited in the 1954 Academy, only a few months before his death at the age of 82. The main collection of his heraldic book-plates is maintained in the City of Liverpool Public Libraries and other examples are preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings.<sup>10</sup>

As well as the proofs and colour trials, which amount to 470 pieces, the collection includes four small plates on which the master dies of stamps have been engraved. These are the three-quarter portrait used for the  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  and  $1d.$  British stamps of 1911, the unadopted die for the  $3d.$  stamp with the same portrait, with erased value tablet, a rejected master die for the  $1d.$  and  $2\frac{1}{2}d.$  British stamps of 1912, and a portrait of the Queen used on the 1937 Coronation stamps of Southern Rhodesia. A selection of the British portion of the die proofs was shown in the Exhibition of British Postage Stamps 1900-63 during March and April 1963. The collection has been presented to the Department by H. W. P. Harrison, the engraver's son.

JAMES A. MACKAY

<sup>1</sup> James Watson, 'Harrison the Engraver', *Gibbons' Stamp Monthly*, xxviii (1955), pp. 128-31. I am grateful to Mr. Watson and Stanley Gibbons Ltd. for permission to reproduce these biographical notes on J. A. C. Harrison.

<sup>2</sup> Schirnböck, who engraved many stamps for

Austria and the first issues of Liechtenstein, was greatly admired by Harrison, among whose papers were found several specimens of these stamps and enlarged photographs of the relief-engraved Liechtenstein issue of 1912 portraying Prince John II.

<sup>3</sup> *Derby Express*, 23 June 1911, commenting

in a leader on the new stamps on the day following their issue: 'the poor lion at the bottom of the picture not only cramps it, but seems by its weight to be "squatting out" the penny upon which it is reclining. Besides it is not British in looks.'

<sup>4</sup> *Hansard*, 15 August 1911, reporting on the outstanding Votes for the services of the Revenue Department: Mr. Touche (Unionist, Islington N.) moved to reduce the Vote by £500 in order to direct attention to the new postage stamps. 'There was a general consensus of opinion that the new stamps were not satisfactory. . . . In clearness of design and execution they were greatly lacking.' Sir H. Carlile (Unionist, St. Albans) seconding the motion expressed his opinion more forcibly. He said that 'the representation of His Majesty's face on the stamps was a grotesque parody. The design on the stamp was patchy, poor and miserable, and he could not imagine how it came to pass that the Postmaster-General approved it.' Mr. Henniker-Heaton, M.P., declared that the stamps were calculated to make the King's head 'a constant source of inextinguishable laughter and to undermine monarchy in England'. Mr. Touche was curiously misinformed when he stated further that he understood that the engravers [*sic*] were experienced chiefly in cutting designs for coins, 'which was an entirely different matter from line engraving for stamps'.

<sup>5</sup> 'Notes and Queries', *Stanley Gibbons' Monthly Journal*, xx (1912), p. 27, commenting on the emended designs, stated: 'Some fairly manifest alterations have been made in the minor details of the Penny stamps, the moustache and beard of the King are made a little clearer, and the background of the upper corners is now solid instead of being lined. But the most conspicuous alterations are in the Lion, a feature which might well have been improved out of the design altogether; complaints were made that the poor creature's ribs showed too plainly, as if the present economical Government had put him on short rations; his ribs have now been concealed by means of a number of additional

lines of shading, which certainly give him a sleeker, rather more rounded, appearance. We may suppose that he has had a decent Christmas dinner, not perhaps off a Postmaster-General or a Commissioner of Inland Revenue, but off some fairly substantial minor official. The alterations in the ½d. seem to have been confined to the retouching of the head; the beard and moustache are no longer the blurred mass of colour that they were originally, but we are still waiting for a portrait of the King. And no amount of tinkering at the present designs will make them satisfactory for postage stamps.'

<sup>6</sup> These stamps were designed by Harold Nelson and bore a representation of the 'Wembley lion' based on the exhibition poster. They were originally issued on 23 April 1924 with the date '1924' inscribed on them. In the following spring Harrison recut the master dies, altering the date to '1925', and in this form they were issued on 9 May 1925. The collection includes proofs from both states of the die and also proofs showing the date partially erased.

<sup>7</sup> The introduction of these stamps marked two innovations for South Africa, in that Afrikaans now replaced Dutch in the inscriptions, and they were unilingual, English and Afrikaans alternating throughout the sheet. *Handbook/Catalogue of Union of South Africa Stamps Van Riebeeck Tercentenary Edition*, p. 51.

<sup>8</sup> R. J. Sutton, *Stamp Curiosities* (London, 1957). Harrison re-engraved the die for the 6d. value in 1937 to include the medallion portrait of King George VI. Part of the original design included a stretch of roadway with a Ford Model-T motor-car. The vignette of the 1937 die was identical with that of 1932 but the motor-car was redrawn and modernized.

<sup>9</sup> 'Harrison of Waterlow's', *Stamp Collecting*, lxxxiii (1955), p. 907.

<sup>10</sup> *B.M.Q.* xi, p. 143 records the acquisition of forty-seven book-plates presented by the engraver in 1937.



## THE SECOND LITHOGRAPHIC EDITION OF LEAR'S BOOK OF NONSENSE

ALL early editions of Edward Lear's *Book of Nonsense* are rare and the surviving examples are usually imperfect, having been read to pieces. Nothing before the tenth edition of 1863 was sent to the copyright libraries and it was not until after the Second World War that the Museum started to acquire earlier examples. This policy has now made it possible to elucidate the publishing history of the book. It was first issued from lithographs traced from Lear's drawings by Thos. McLean in 1846. This edition came out in two parts (price 3s. 6d. each) and the Museum possesses copies of these two parts acquired separately (C. 117. a. 60 and C. 117. a. 68). Thos. McLean were primarily printsellers and the books that they normally published were of the type of Lear's *Illustrated Excursion in Italy*. It was not until fifteen years later, in 1861, when Routledge, Warne & Routledge who specialized in children's books took over publication, that the *Book of Nonsense* became a best-seller. This and subsequent editions were produced from woodcuts by the brothers Dalziel and contain forty-three additional limericks.

The book had, however, been selling steadily, if not sensationally, for McLean, and some time before 1854 a new edition was required. This was again produced lithographically and the reproductions of Lear's drawings differ only slightly (but discernibly) from those in the first edition; but this time the limericks, instead of being written in sloping capitals and normally in three lines, appear in the customary five-line form and in italics (Pl. 111). The Museum now has a copy of this which is lettered on the lithographed cover 'New Edition' (C. 117. a. 69) and has the same seventy-two limericks as the first edition; it was, however, issued in only one part and therefore has only one title-page—'There was an Old Derry Down Derry'—instead of the two found in complete copies of the 1846 edition.

The status of copies lettered 'New Edition' is not in doubt, but three copies of this second edition are known which are much more confusing and which have been claimed as preceding the true first edition. One of these has now been bought by the Museum. Although the paper cover shows the Derry Down Derry illustration in the second-edition version with a tuft of flowers under his legs and the limerick in five lines, the original imprint appears again at the foot: 'Published Feb. 10 1846 by Tho<sup>s</sup>. McLean 26 Haymarket.'

In addition all these three copies have the wrong text under the two illustrations of 'There was an Old Man of the West' (fols. 30 and 55 in the new copy). That depicting the Old Man 'Who wore a pale plum-coloured vest' has the limerick describing the one 'who never could get any rest; / So they set him to spin / On his nose and his chin /' and vice versa.

As the genuine first edition has the correct verses under these illustrations it has not unnaturally been suggested that these three copies (with the date 1846 on the covers) precede it. It is only when it is possible to compare the genuine first edition, the 'New Edition', and one of these three peculiar copies that it becomes clear that the latter are in fact an early state of the 'new edition'.

HOWARD M. NIXON

## PRINCE CZARTORYSKI AND THE BRITISH MUSEUM

PRINCE ADAM JERZY CZARTORYSKI (1770-1861), member of one of the most distinguished families in Poland, inherited his anglophile sympathies from his father, who shared them with his cousin, Stanisław August Poniatowski, the last King of Poland. In 1789-91 the young prince accompanied his mother, Princess Izabella, on a visit to England and Scotland, where his father wished him to complete his education by learning about English history and institutions. On this occasion, no doubt, he became acquainted with the British Museum, and Princess Izabella, with her passion for collecting historical relics, took the opportunity to obtain the Museum's permission for Edridge, the miniature painter, to take for her a copy of S. Cooper's portrait of Oliver Cromwell.<sup>1</sup>

After the partitions of Poland Prince Adam's parents made their chief residence, at Puławy, a centre of Polish intellectual life. Later Prince Adam considerably enlarged his father's library, making it one of the largest libraries in the country. He wished to model it on the pattern of the British Museum which he admired, and to enlarge it further by the acquisition of *polonica* and copies of manuscripts concerning Poland which were to be found abroad. This was the main part of the mission on which in 1820 he sent his librarian, Karol Sienkiewicz, to Britain.

In Paris Sienkiewicz visited Sir Charles Stuart, the British ambassador, who gave him an introductory letter from Lord Spencer to Joseph Planta, the principal librarian of the British Museum, while from Langlès, the orientalist, he obtained a letter to H. H. Baber, Keeper of Printed Books in the Museum. Thus equipped, on 11 July 1820, he presented himself at the Museum, met Planta, and received a reader's ticket. Three days later he saw Baber who took him to the Reading Room, showed him the catalogue, and explained how to obtain books. Sienkiewicz was favourably impressed, having found there



tables covered with cloth and provided with bookrests, pens, and ink. In Paris [in the Royal Library] the tables are bare, without pens and bookrests, and not everybody is allowed to use the catalogue, while the attendants do not always search diligently enough for what is wanted. . . . The catalogue *in folio* was published in 1819 by royal order and at the Parliament's request. This interference of the Parliament into matters of little apparent importance is in England constant and unique. It is pleasing to see the will and care of the nation even in small matters. And the Parliament did not grudge money for the publication of the catalogues. Nowhere have I seen better ones.<sup>2</sup>

He passed the time making copies of the Lansdowne and Cottonian manuscripts relating to Poland which he wanted to send to Puławy, and he was also busy buying English books on Poland, works of Polish authors published in England, and engraved portraits of Polish royalty and other distinguished persons. He carried on these activities in Edinburgh, where he spent some months in 1820-1. All the time he corresponded with Czartoryski, who followed his work with great interest.

In Edinburgh Sienkiewicz met his master's nephew and his tutor, Lach-Szyrma. A major outcome of Szyrma's voyage was his three-volume description of England and Scotland, the first detailed account of these countries to be published in Poland.<sup>3</sup> In the last volume he included a long description of the British Museum which had inspired him with deep admiration. On 6 October he was issued with a reader's ticket<sup>4</sup> and he was surprised to find the Reading Room rather sparsely populated, a fact inspiring a somewhat unexpected conclusion that 'the British prefer not to engage in intellectual work in public'.<sup>5</sup>

Czartoryski, however, was not destined to enjoy his great library at Puławy much longer. During the Polish insurrection against Russia he became, in January 1831, head of the National Government, which in the following summer sent a distinguished writer of his time, Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, to London, where he was to seek British support against Russia. Niemcewicz's relations with the Czartoryskis were of long standing and fifty years earlier he had served Prince Adam's father. In spite of all his efforts he obtained nothing, although he was soon followed to England by Czartoryski himself, whom Russian victories drove abroad in the autumn of 1831. In his spare time Niemcewicz went frequently to the Museum. On his first visit, on 20 September 1831, he noticed that the collections had been considerably enlarged since he last saw them in 1802. This, however, could not be said of the collection of coins and medals. 'I asked them to show me their Polish collection, if they had one, and to encourage them I gave them the medal of the King of Saxony as the Duke of Warsaw, a two-*złoty* piece, a silver ten-*grosze* coin, and three copper *grosze* struck during our present uprising. These small presents were gratefully received. . . . They showed me their collection, a very poor one . . .'<sup>6</sup> The coins are described too vaguely for identification but the medal, that of Frederick Augustus, Duke of Warsaw,



struck in his honour in 1808 by the Royal Society of the Friends of Science, can be seen in the Department of Coins and Medals.

On 12 November the Trustees directed that thanks were to be sent to the donor, whom they described as the president of the Royal Society of Moscow.<sup>7</sup> In fact Niemcewicz held the same office in the Royal Society of Warsaw and, although being so associated with Moscow must have hurt his feelings, he did not comment upon it in his diary.

But the part of the Museum's collections which interested him most were books and manuscripts concerning Poland. He spent much time copying Polish royal letters sent to the English royalty in the sixteenth century and later, while from the catalogue he compiled a list of printed *polonica*.

In December 1831 Czartoryski joined him in London, where he intended to use his old acquaintance with English aristocracy to promote his country's interests. His vast property being in Russian-occupied Poland, it was now a poor man who arrived 'without a servant and carrying his belongings in a small bundle'.<sup>8</sup> Their combined efforts were fruitless, their reception being one of polite indifference.

Czartoryski's recent misfortunes did not discourage his bibliophile interests and he sought to promote the knowledge of his country's problems where he could. On 6 February 1832 Niemcewicz wrote: 'The worthy Prince A. C., although reduced to poverty, has bought many books on Polish history, particularly concerning recent times, in order to give them to the British Museum so that those wishing to find out about us could obtain information from them.'<sup>9</sup> In this matter Niemcewicz acted as his agent, and on 1 March he noted down in his diary:

This morning I went to the British Museum to talk with the director, Mr. Ellis,<sup>10</sup> about the books on Polish history which Prince A. C. is giving to the Museum with the wish that they be placed together and added to other books on Poland in this library, where they are to be used by both Poles and British interested in Polish affairs. Mr. Ellis promised to submit the matter to the Trustees at their next meeting and said he had no doubt as to their consent. A list of these books will be published in the catalogue of donations received by the Museum. I have in my possession only two Polish books, the treatise on cholera and the comedy *A Suspicious one*<sup>11</sup> and I shall present them with the rest. This gift from Prince A. C. shows his unceasing care for preserving abroad such national relics as can be found there.<sup>12</sup>

Czartoryski's declared purpose was simple but at the Trustees' meeting on 10 March a misunderstanding seems to have arisen.

Mr. Ellis reported that Prince Adam Czartorinsky [*sic*] had offered to present to the Museum several Polish books, a list of which accompanied Mr. Ellis's report, for the use of exiled Poles and the friends of that country, the Prince being also desirous to stipulate that these books should be kept together in the Library and in company with other works relating to Poland.

The Trustees directed the Secretary to acquaint Mr. Niemcewicz, the agent of Prince Czartorinsky, that the Trustees could accept the present only for the general use of all persons admitted to the Reading Rooms of the Museum.<sup>13</sup>

There is no record of how the matter was finally settled. On 16 March Niemcewicz delivered the books (14) and they were included in *The List of Additions made to the Collections of the British Museum in the Year 1832*, issued in 1834. It mentions eighty items as being presented by Czartoryski; these include the two books added by Niemcewicz. They can be roughly divided into three groups. The first and largest (40) includes literature on Polish affairs from the 1770's to the 1810's, with the Constitution of the Third of May 1791 together with events leading to and following it as its main part. The considerable interest of these pamphlets, written mainly in Polish though six are in German and one in French, is due to the fact that they are contemporary to the described events. Twenty-nine of these books belonged at some time to a mysterious person whose handwritten initials 'L. V.' they bear on their title-pages. The 'V' seems to suggest he was not a Pole. He might have been German, as in those days the usual way of Polish books into this country was through Germany, while Czartoryski apparently bought them in London.

The second group (9) consists of Polish classics. Among them are the valuable early editions of collected works of Naruszewicz (*Wiersze różne*, 2 vols., Warsaw, 1804, 1805), Krasicki (*Dzieła*, 10 vols., Warsaw, 1812-14), Niemcewicz (*Pisma różne*, 2 vols., Warsaw, 1803, 1805) and Mickiewicz (*Poezye*, vols. 1-3, Paris, 1828, 1829).

Finally, there are thirty-one books on miscellaneous, mainly Polish, subjects. The majority of them deal with Polish history and seven are by French authors. They include vols. 2-7 of the second edition of Naruszewicz's celebrated *History of the Polish Nation*, edited by Mostowski in his *Wybór pisarzy polskich* (Warsaw, 1803, 1804). Only one English book is found in the whole collection—oddly enough, it is *The Commonplace Book of Poetry, or British Minstrelsy* (London, 1830).

Czartoryski's wish that the books should be placed together was strictly conformed with and even now the great majority of them are at their original press-marks, 899-900. One, Naruszewicz's *Diariusz podróży Stanisława Augusta*, &c. (Warsaw, 1805) is missing.

Having achieved nothing in Britain, Czartoryski settled permanently in Paris, where he soon found an outlet for his passion 'to preserve abroad such national relics as can be had there'. In 1838, together with Niemcewicz, Mickiewicz, and Sienkiewicz, he founded the Polish Library in Paris which became the largest and oldest centre for Polish historical source material outside Poland. The experienced librarian, Karol Sienkiewicz, supervised the practical side of the enterprise.

HANNA ŚWIDERSKA



- <sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 45870, fol. 49<sup>r</sup>.
- <sup>2</sup> K. Sienkiewicz, *Dziennik podróży po Anglii, 1820-1821*. Z rękopisu wydał i komentarzem opatrzył B. Horodyski. Wrocław, 1953, pp. 26-27.
- <sup>3</sup> *Anglia i Szkocja, &c.*, Warszawa, 1829.
- <sup>4</sup> Admissions to the Reading Room, January 1820-November 1826, p. 77.
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 80.
- <sup>6</sup> Niemcewicz, *Dziennik pobytu za granicą od 21 lipca 1831 r. do maja 1841 r.* Poznań, 1876-77, vol. i, p. 63.

- <sup>7</sup> Committee [minutes], vol. xii, pp. 3409-10.
- <sup>8</sup> *Dziennik*, vol. i, p. 139.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 171.
- <sup>10</sup> Sir H. Ellis, Keeper of Printed Books.
- <sup>11</sup> Rada Ogólna Lekarska Królestwa Polskiego, *Wiadomość o cholery, &c.*, Warszawa, 1831; Niemcewicz, *Podejrzliwość*, Warszawa, 1831.
- <sup>12</sup> *Dziennik*, vol. i, p. 192.
- <sup>13</sup> Committee, vol. xii, p. 3458.
- <sup>14</sup> *Dziennik*, vol. i. pp. 202-3.

## THE CAXTON DEEDS

LORD THOMSON, as Chairman of Thomson Newspapers, Ltd., has presented to the Museum a group of fifteen original deeds (see Pls. iv and v), ranging in date from 1420 to 1467, relating to the family of Caxton, of Little Wratting in Suffolk.<sup>1</sup> These deeds were discovered in 1922 by the late Mr. Richard Holworthy, Archivist to Kent County Council, among the muniments of Lord Winterton at Shillinglee Park, in Sussex. They were subsequently acquired by Lord Kemsley, who deposited them on permanent loan in the Museum in 1942, on the understanding that they could be withdrawn from time to time for inclusion in the *Sunday Times* book exhibitions. Ownership of the deeds was vested in Kemsley Newspapers, Ltd., control of which passed in 1959 to Mr. Roy Thomson (now Lord Thomson), through whose generosity the loan has now been converted into an outright gift.

Detailed descriptions of the deeds, now numbered Additional Charters 75505-19, have been published in vol. XXIX, part 2 (1962), of the *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* by Mr. N. F. Blake, of the University of Liverpool, who also discusses, in greater detail than space will permit here, the arguments for and against identifying one of the members of this Caxton family with William Caxton the printer.

The earliest of the deeds, executed in 1420, relates to the acquisition of the manor of Little Wratting by Philip Caxton and Dennis (Denise) his wife. Philip Caxton died 24 Dec. 1430,<sup>2</sup> and was survived by his widow (who not later than 1436 married, as her second husband, Thomas West of Sudbury) and by two sons, Philip (born not later than 1413) and William; and it is the younger, William, whom it has been proposed to identify with the first English printer.

Of William Caxton the printer's birth, parentage, and early years the most intensive research has so far elucidated almost nothing.<sup>3</sup> He himself tells us that he was 'born and lerned myn Englissh in Kente in the Weeld',<sup>4</sup> but his first



appearance in the records is as an apprentice mercer in London in 1437-8;<sup>5</sup> and it was, apparently, while still an apprentice that he was sent abroad to begin that period of thirty years' residence in Flanders which ultimately provided him with the opportunity and the means to learn the art of printing.

The proposed identification of William Caxton of Little Wratting with the printer rests upon a number of coincidences, slight individually but cumulatively not unimpressive. Thus, when Philip Caxton, elder brother of William, sold the manor of Wratting, on 17 December 1436, to John Cristemasse, citizen and draper of London, one of the seals attached to the deed is that of Alderman Thomas Large,<sup>6</sup> to whom William Caxton the printer was then apprenticed. The chief lord of Little Wratting was Richard, Duke of York, and his signature and seal are found on a deed of 1441: this is interesting when we recollect that his daughter Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, was Caxton's earliest patroness. Again, the parties to a deed of 1456 include Henry, Lord Bouchier, afterwards Earl of Essex, and the well-known cleric and scholar, Benedict Burgh.<sup>7</sup> Benedict Burgh produced a verse translation of the *Disticha* of Cato which Caxton printed no less than three times, noting in the prologue to the 1483 edition that Burgh had translated the work 'for the erudicion of my lord Bousher, sone and heyr at that time to my lord the erle of Estsex'.

On the other hand, the difficulties of the proposed identification must not be minimized. In the first place, the name Caxton, which can be spelt in a bewildering number of ways, is far from uncommon in the eastern half of England, and apart from coincidences such as those mentioned above, there is no direct evidence connecting the Little Wratting family with the printer. William Caxton of Wratting, son of Philip Caxton, appears in at least four of the deeds, all dated 1438, and two of these are quit-claims executed by him. He must therefore have been of age in 1438, which can hardly be reconciled with the fact that the printer was apprenticed in 1437-8, the normal age of apprenticeship at this period being between 14 and 17. There are also two deeds of 1457 which mention a William Caxton or Causton, the second describing him as 'William Caxton otherwise callid Causton, sadeler', and it is impossible to believe that at any rate this William Caxton was the printer, who by this time was a member of the livery of the Mercers' Company.

However this may be, the present group of documents, throwing as it does valuable light on one branch of the Caxton family, constitutes a major addition to our knowledge of its ramifications in the fifteenth century, and to this extent, brings us one step nearer to the solution of that fascinating problem, the antecedents of the first English printer.

Summary descriptions of the individual deeds are included in the Appendix to the present article.

T. C. SKEAT

<sup>1</sup> Two further deeds from the same group which were also apparently at one time in the possession of Lord Kemsley were sold at Sotheby's 28 Nov. 1961, lot 538.

<sup>2</sup> Inquisition *post mortem*, 10 Hen. VI.

<sup>3</sup> The best summary is perhaps to be found in the Introduction by W. V. B. Crotch to *The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton*, Early English Text Society, Original Series, no. 176, 1928.

<sup>4</sup> In the Prologue to the 'Recuyell of the Histories of Troye' (1476), cf. Crotch, *ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> He appears among those paying for admission

to apprenticeship during the year ending 24 June 1438.

<sup>6</sup> Large was a person of importance. Alderman since 1429, he served as sheriff in 1430-1 and as mayor in 1439-40. He sat as a Member of Parliament for the City of London in 1435, and died in 1441.

<sup>7</sup> On Benedict Burgh see *The Secrees of old Philisoffres*, ed. Robert Steele, Early English Text Society, Extra Series, no. lxvi, 1894, pp. xvii-xviii, and A. B. Emden, *Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, i, 1957, p. 309.

## APPENDIX

### *Summary Description of the Caxton Deeds*

(Additional Charters 75505-19)

75505. Quit-claim from William Paston and John Acy to Philip Caxton and Dennis his wife of their manor of Little Wrating. 15 Jan. 1420.
75506. Lease from Dennis Caxton to Thomas Schypwrygthe of Hundon of part of her manor of Little Wrating, for six years. 3 Sept. 1434.
75507. Sale from Philip Caxton of Little Wrating to John Cristemasse of London of his manor of Wrating, with the advowsons of Wrating and Barnardiston. 17 Dec. 1436.
75508. Grant from Philip Caxton, son of the late Philip Caxton, and William Brocrotte to William Bourghier, John Wryther of Winchester, and John Cristemasse, Andrew Michell, and Thomas Clerk, all of London, of their manor of Little Wrating. 20 July 1438.
75509. Grant from Dennis, widow of Philip Caxton, to John Cristemasse and Edmund Ekeney, both of London, of the manor of Blunt's Hall, lands called Gardyneres and other property in Little Wrating and elsewhere, for the rest of her life. 16 Aug. 1438.
75510. Quit-claim from Philip Caxton, son of the late Philip Caxton, to the same, of the manor of Blunt's Hall, lands called Gardyneres and other property in Little Wrating and elsewhere, for the term of his mother's life. 17 Oct. 1438.
75511. Quit-claim from William Caxton, son of the late Philip Caxton, to the same, of the manor of Blunt's Hall in Little Wrating. 19 Oct. 1438.
75512. Quit-claim from the same to the same of lands called Gardyneres and other property in Little Wrating and elsewhere. 19 Oct. 1438.
75513. Final concord by which Philip Caxton of Little Thurlow, son of the late Philip Caxton of Little Wrating, confirms to the same his grant of the manor of Blunt's Hall in Little Wrating, the advowsons of Little Wrating and Barnadiston, and other property. Easter Term, 1439.



75514. Quit-claim from Edmund Ekeney to John Crystemasse, both of London, of lands called Gardeners and Bukkes and other property in Little Wrating and elsewhere. 28 July 1440.
75515. Letters from Richard, Duke of York, appointing William Hoberd and Robert Burgh his attorneys to give seisin to Sir William Oldehalle, his chamberlain, of the manor of Blunt's Hall in Little Wrating with the advowson of Little Wrating and a water-mill in the same. 2 Apr. 1441.
75516. Grant by Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, John Veer, Earl of Oxford, Henry, Lord Bourghchier, Sir Thomas Fynder, Sir Thomas Tyrell, John Doreward, Master Benedict Burgh, John Flegge, and Agatha, his wife, to John Fyncham, Henry Caldebek, Robert Deen, Simon Poley, John Yates, Master Richard Bumpsted, John Hervy, John Rysby, Henry Banyard, and John Messenger, of the manor Blunt's Hall in Little Wrating, the advowsons of Little Wrating and Barnardiston, and other property. 6 Oct. 1456.
75517. Quit-claim by Dennis, widow of Philip Caxton of Little Wrating, to Henry Turnour of Haverhill, Philip Fyncham, Henry Caldebek, Simon Poley, Master Richard Bumpstede, John Rysby, John Hervy, John Yates, Robert Deen, Henry Baynard, and John Goldsmyth, of the manor of Blunt's Hall in Little Wrating, the advowsons of Little Wrating and Barnardiston, and other property. 6 Nov. 1457.
75518. Covenant by Thomas West and his wife Dennis, widow of Philip Caxton, to give to Henry Turnour the deeds and muniments of the manor of Blunt's Hall in Little Wrating, of the advowsons of Little Wrating and Barnardiston, and of other property. 6 Nov. 1457.
75519. Letters of John Fyncham, Robert Deen, Simon Poley, Master Richard Bumpstede, John Rysby, and Henry Banyard, appointing Walter Rys and Thomas Underhill their attorneys to give seisin to Henry Turnour of Haverhill and Margaret, his wife, of the manor of Blunt's Hall and the advowson of Little Wrating. 30 Jan. 1467.

## FROM 'THE HOURS' TO MRS. DALLOWAY

**M**RS. DALLOWAY, published in 1925, was Virginia Woolf's fourth novel. Its initial success has subsequently been confirmed and the book translated into at least nine foreign languages.<sup>1</sup> It grew out of a 3,000-word descriptive article, called 'Mrs. Dalloway in Bond Street', prepared during 1922 for the New York periodical, *The Dial*, and printed in July 1923.<sup>2</sup> In that same issue of *The Dial*, David Garnett reviewed her third novel *Jacob's Room*:

In *Jacob's Room* Mrs Woolf has broken the conventional mould of the novel into which she poured *The Voyage Out* and *Night and Day*. For four or five years she wrote a number of short sketches, experiments to enable her to find a style which suits her. These sketches were published together under the title Monday or Tuesday, and it is by using the style developed in them, that she was able to write *Jacob's Room*. She is now free to do anything she likes.<sup>3</sup>



*Jacob's Room* represents one side of Virginia Woolf's work; the lyrical, experimental writing whose originality commands attention while its intensity sometimes repels.<sup>4</sup> 'Mrs. Dalloway in Bond Street' on the other hand, although inevitably much slighter, is a clever, realistic, and delicately satirical sketch. For the first time in *Mrs. Dalloway* these two strains are satisfactorily combined. Virginia Woolf was very conscious of her own development as a writer. She recorded in her diary, from which her husband, Leonard Woolf, published extracts under the title *A Writer's Diary*, the technical advance she made in writing *Mrs. Dalloway*: 'It is becoming more analytical and human I think; less lyrical; but I feel as if I had loosed the bonds pretty completely and could pour everything in . . .'<sup>5</sup> Study of the stages in the composition of *Mrs. Dalloway* is therefore an antidote to that damaging criticism of Virginia Woolf which eulogizes her fine style, or employs the loose phrase, 'stream of consciousness', to emphasize the lyrical at the expense of the tougher element in her writing.

Bought by the Department of Manuscripts with money from the Shaw Fund and with the kind help of The Friends of the National Libraries, the manuscript has been numbered Add. MSS. 51044-6. It consists of three volumes, all autograph, comprising altogether 451 leaves, most of them written only on one side of the page. The volumes correspond to Mr. Leonard Woolf's description of the books Virginia Woolf used for writing; the paper:

(8½" × 10½", i.e. technically large post quarto). . . . We used to have the sheets bound up in paper over boards, and the cover paper is nearly always one of the coloured, patterned Italian papers which we frequently used for binding books of poetry published by us in The Hogarth Press and of which she was very fond. We used to buy the paper for the sheets and have it bound up in books ready for her to use, and she wrote her novels in this kind of book as well as her diary . . .<sup>6</sup>

One volume has patterned paper, one patterned cloth, and one no cover at all.

Her diary records that a preliminary version of the novel was worked out between October 1922 and June 1923.<sup>7</sup> As it took shape, Virginia Woolf wrote that it was to be 'a study of the world seen by sane and insane side by side'.<sup>8</sup> The original plan had been that Clarissa Dalloway should commit suicide, but the story of Septimus Smith was developed to run parallel with hers, and he died instead.<sup>9</sup> Then the crucial problem was to connect the two central characters, who are intended as 'anti-types' in the Dostoevskyan sense, but who never actually meet. On 27 June 1923 Virginia Woolf began the version represented here, and completed it on 9 October 1924, both dates being given in the manuscript. Until August 1924 the title of the novel was to be 'The Hours'. This title is recorded in attempts, two in the manuscript, to begin the book with lyrical descriptions of clocks striking. They are blemished by elaborate comparisons of the sounds with, for example, a woman, a man, a hostess, and typify the nebulous, esoteric style which Virginia Woolf broke free from in reworking *Mrs. Dalloway*.



Then came the most important stage in the writing of the book; the third extant beginning, dated 13 August 1923: 'It took me a year's groping to discover what I call my tunnelling process, by which I tell the past by instalments as I have need of it. This is my prime discovery so far . . .'<sup>10</sup> The discovery enabled the parallel stories to be linked satisfactorily. Peter Walsh, Mrs. Dalloway's admirer, and the insane Septimus Smith pass each other in Regent's Park. Septimus imagines Peter to be the central figure of his delusions, his friend Evans, killed in the war. To Peter, Septimus and his Italian wife Rezia are unhappy lovers, because of Peter's own preoccupation with love. But the method demanded extreme care to preserve the balance, which explains the heavy corrections on almost every page. One curious example is the way Septimus sees Peter in the final version, 'A man in grey was actually walking towards them'.<sup>11</sup> Virginia Woolf originally wrote 'a man in a grey check suit'.<sup>12</sup> Peter Walsh first appears on a morning visit to Mrs. Dalloway: 'Exactly the same, thought Clarissa; the same queer look; the same check suit . . .'<sup>13</sup> The change temporarily obscures the identity of this figure so that the reader shares Septimus's delusion.

After the full-scale draft was completed, the opening section was rewritten for at least the fifth time. The new beginning, which is substantially as finally printed, provides a taut narrative structure and co-ordinates the whole book. By this stage the conjunction 'for' was used as a consistent device to mark a passage of reflection or recollection. The book was revised in typescript in December 1924 and sent to the printer in January 1925. It appeared on 14 May 1925. Three weeks earlier, in April 1925, *The Common Reader*, Virginia Woolf's first collection of literary and critical essays had appeared. She wished to establish the connexion between her approach to fiction and criticism. In addition to the whole of *Mrs. Dalloway* the manuscript contains drafts of essays and reviews, of which some were incorporated in *The Common Reader*. They are sometimes interspersed page by page with *Mrs. Dalloway* and illustrate her working method of alternating, often in the same morning, between fiction and criticism.

The manuscript is a magnificent specimen of the work of a writer until now unrepresented in the collections of the Department.<sup>14</sup> It amplifies the information about her technical progress given in *A Writer's Diary*, where comments, written for a purely private record, are sometimes so worded that out of context they supply ammunition for inaccurate, but familiar, jibes at her writing.<sup>15</sup> This first-hand source gives a surer insight into the real, if painful, advance of a writer who undoubtedly extended the scope of the novel.

A. J. LEWIS

<sup>1</sup> See B. J. Kirkpatrick, *A Bibliography of Virginia Woolf* (1957), pp. 22-26, 127-46.

<sup>2</sup> See *The Dial*, lxxv (July 1923), pp. 20-27.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86.

<sup>4</sup> See *A Writer's Diary*, ed. Leonard Woolf (1954), p. 54, 29 October 1923, where Virginia

Woolf quotes the description of herself in *The Daily News* review of *Jacob's Room*: 'An elderly sensualist.' (She was then forty.)

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62, 26 May 1924.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. vii.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 54, 57, 58.



<sup>8</sup> *A Writer's Diary*, p. 52, 14 October 1922.

<sup>9</sup> *Mrs. Dalloway*, Modern Library edition; introduction by Virginia Woolf.

<sup>10</sup> *A Writer's Diary*, 15 October 1923, p. 61.

<sup>11</sup> *Mrs. Dalloway*, Uniform edition, 1929, p. 107.

<sup>12</sup> Add. MS. 51044, fol. 66.

<sup>13</sup> *Mrs. Dalloway*, Uniform edition, p. 63.

<sup>14</sup> There were only letters, 1928-37, to S. S. Koteliansky, Russian writer (1880-1955), in Add. MS. 48974. Virginia Woolf collaborated with him in three translations of Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, published by the Hogarth Press in

1922, 1923; evidence of her interest in Russian fiction, which had so important an effect upon the method of *Mrs. Dalloway*. Among them, fol. 159, is a reply to Koteliansky's condolences upon the death of Lytton Strachey, a close personal friend of Virginia Woolf: 'Lytton's death is very hard to bear.' When *Mrs. Dalloway* appeared, Lytton Strachey disliked it, and Virginia Woolf liked him all the better for saying so.

<sup>15</sup> See, for example, the comments on 'all the usual things I try to put in—life, death, etc.', in *The New Statesman*, lxx, no. 1672 (29 March 1963), p. 464.

## A COPPER PITCHER

THE Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities has recently acquired, with the aid of a bequest by the late Miss M. F. T. Ready, a fine copper pitcher of Minoan or Mycenaean origin (Pl. vi).<sup>1</sup>

This graceful vase, 54 cm. high and 42 cm. at its greatest width, was beaten from sheet metal in four sections which have been riveted together; they can clearly be seen in the photograph, comprising the neck, the shoulder, the lower part of the body, and the base. The rivets, set about 2 cm. apart, can also just be seen. There are two handles of stouter metal (about 0.5 cm. thick): the upper one springs from the shoulder and joins the rim; the lower one is fixed to the lower part of the body, to assist in pouring.

The material of such vases is usually described as bronze, but Schliemann's analysis showed long ago that those from Mycenae (see below) were of almost pure copper,<sup>2</sup> and an analysis of the vessel under discussion, by the British Museum Laboratory, has given similar results both for the body of the vase and for the handles. It is indeed more than probable that all such vessels from Minoan or Mycenaean sites would prove, on analysis, to be made of copper. Although more difficult than bronze to cast initially in ingots or strips, copper, being a softer metal, is very much easier to work with the hammer; and this, no doubt, is the reason why it was used for these vessels.

Other copper vessels are recorded from Minoan and Mycenaean sites—cauldrons, basins of various kinds, and lamps—but the pitchers are certainly the most decorative. Vessels very like them were recorded and illustrated on Linear B tablets from Knossos and Pylos.<sup>3</sup>

Copper vessels are not often found, in tombs or elsewhere. To quote Miss Winifred Lamb: 'Their comparative scarcity is not surprising. They were

objects of value, giving a certain status to their possessor, and it was a question whether the heir of the deceased could bring himself to part with them. Only a very pious man would put the family plate into the family vault.<sup>4</sup>

The type probably originated in Crete. Three were found at Knossos: one in a house of fifteenth- or fourteenth-century date, two in tombs of the later fifteenth and fourteenth centuries respectively.<sup>5</sup> One, badly damaged, comes from a fourteenth-century tomb at Phaestos,<sup>6</sup> one from the Palace at Hagia Triada<sup>7</sup> near Phaestos, one from a house at Palaikastro of the fifteenth century,<sup>8</sup> and there is at least one unpublished one in the Museum at Canea,<sup>9</sup> and two at Rethymnon.

In Mainland Greece, some fifteen (which may well have been imported from Crete) were found by Schliemann in the Fourth and Fifth Shaft Graves at Mycenae (1550-1500 B.C.);<sup>10</sup> one was found at Dendra in a context which does not admit of a precise dating,<sup>11</sup> and another at Asine in a burial of the fourteenth century B.C.<sup>12</sup>

There is little typological development, and an exact dating for the pitcher is therefore not easily determined. The examples from the Shaft Graves (sixteenth century B.C.) are, however, somewhat plumper than ours, and a better parallel is provided by vessels of the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries. Of those which can be stratigraphically dated, the best parallels are given by that from Palaikastro, of the fifteenth century, and that from Asine, of the fourteenth. A closer dating does not seem possible, nor can it be determined whether our pitcher is of Cretan or Mainland manufacture.<sup>13</sup>

R. A. HIGGINS

<sup>1</sup> Registration no. 1963. 7-5. 1.

<sup>2</sup> H. Schliemann, *Mycenae and Tiryns*, p. 375.

<sup>3</sup> M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, pp. 323 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Greek and Roman Bronzes* (1929), p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, ii, pp. 630 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Monumenti antichi*, xiv (1904), pp. 542, fig. 25.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* xiii (1903), p. 10.

<sup>8</sup> R. C. Bosanquet and R. M. Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects from the Palaikastro Excavations*, 1902-6 (BSA Suppl. Paper no. 1), p. 121, pl. 26.

<sup>9</sup> G. Karo, *Schachtgräber von Mykenai*, p. 250. Only one is now exhibited in Canea.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 247 ff.

<sup>11</sup> A. Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra near Midea*, pl. xxxib.

<sup>12</sup> O. Frödin and A. Persson, *Asine*, p. 393, fig. 257. Tomb I: 5, Burial II, from which the bronze vessels came, is dated by Furumark (*Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery*, p. 62) to the Late Helladic IIIA 2 period.

<sup>13</sup> See now H. W. Catling, *Cypriot Bronze-work in the Mycenaean World*, p. 176. This work appeared while my article was in the press. Our pitcher is no. 33 in the list.



## FOUR GREEK ROSETTES

WITH the aid of a generous grant from the National Art-Collections Fund, the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities has recently acquired four Greek gold rosettes (Pl. VII).<sup>1</sup> These rosettes, which average 3.4 cm. in diameter, are made from a double sheet of gold, cut into eight petals. In the centre is a smaller rosette of filigree, also (in three instances) with eight petals enamelled alternately white and turquoise-blue. In the fourth example (Pl. VIIa) there are nine petals, and two white petals have in consequence been juxtaposed, in an unsymmetrical arrangement which looks very like a miscalculation on the part of the goldsmith. Radiating out from the central rosette are lifelike renderings of stamens, in gold wire, twenty-nine in two examples, thirty in the other two. At the back of these objects is a hollow 'stalk' of stout sheet-gold, 1 cm. in depth and 1 cm. in diameter, pierced rather clumsily with four holes at intervals of 90 degrees (Pl. VIIe).

Allowing for a certain artistic licence, we should probably be right in thinking that the goldsmith had a particular flower in mind when making these ornaments. What is the flower? The Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, who were consulted, reported as follows: 'It is very difficult to identify the conventionalized flowers with any certainty, but I would suggest that the gold rosettes represent some member of the family *Ranunculaceae*; and that the small central rosette is intended to be a group of carpels. The rosettes particularly recall the flowers of *Adonis*, which is commonly represented as a weed in the area, but they might be *Anemone*, especially *A. coronaria*, which is both common and ornamental, and likely to appeal to an artist rather more than *Adonis*. Finally, one cannot rule out the possibility that the rosettes may represent a polypetalous, cultivated form of *Rosa*, probably *R. gallica*.'<sup>2</sup>

Thirty-one such rosettes are known, all apparently from the same find-spot, which is believed to be in Thessaly. In addition to the four under discussion there are eight in the National Museum in Athens, the gift of Mme Hélène Stathatos, four in the Antikenabteilung of the Staatliche Museen, West Berlin, and fifteen in a private collection in Sweden.<sup>3</sup>

As a series the rosettes are unique, and it is in consequence necessary to establish their date, and the purpose which they originally served. From the point of view of decoration, a close parallel is provided by a pair of ear-rings in the British Museum (nos. 1653-4), with almost identical central rosettes. These ear-rings come from a tomb at Eretria and are dated by a vase with which they were found to the last quarter of the fifth century B.C. This then will be the approximate date of these rosettes. At this date jewellery was again

becoming fairly common in Greece after the surprisingly empty years of the sixth and the first half of the fifth century, but was still sufficiently rare for surviving examples to be especially desirable.

The purpose of the rosettes is not absolutely clear. It has been suggested that they were attached to diadems, as indicated on statues and terracottas of this period. They are not unlike the decoration of such diadems, but the large number of extant examples would occupy not one but many diadems; and in addition the apparatus behind looks far too substantial for such a purpose, the usual attachment being a slender loop to take a runner. The strong hollow cylinder, pierced four times, was surely for the reception of some solid support. In default of further evidence, it may be that the rosettes decorated a diadem on some large cult-statue. The robustness of their attachments is thus explained, and if the statue were over life-size it might well accommodate over thirty rosettes. Jewellery from such a cult-statue, of the sixth century B.C., has in fact been discovered at Delphi.<sup>4</sup>

R. A. HIGGINS

<sup>1</sup> Registration no. 1963, 5-24, 1.

<sup>2</sup> My thanks are due to Mr. R. D. Meikle for compiling this report.

<sup>3</sup> *Connaissance des arts*, July 1962, p. 20. See also P. Amandry, *Collection Hélène Stathatos*, iii,

pp. 222 ff., which appeared while this article was in press.

<sup>4</sup> *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, lxiii (1939), pp. 86 ff.

## THE BELGIC PROBLEM: AYLESFORD REVISITED

ONE of the outstanding problems of the later Iron Age in Britain undoubtedly concerns the Belgae. It is not my present purpose to deal with this in any detail, requiring as this would consideration of a mass of both British and continental material,<sup>1</sup> but to republish a small but important group of material from what has come to be regarded as one of the type-sites of Belgic culture, the Aylesford cemetery in Kent.<sup>2</sup> In so doing, I shall outline briefly the problem of the Belgae as it has lately emerged and point to some general conclusions which recent study has suggested.

Since the authoritative account of the history of the British and continental Belgic tribes by Hawkes and Dunning in 1930<sup>3</sup> it has been accepted that the introduction of Belgic culture into Britain is represented archaeologically exclusively by the series of Late La Tène Aylesford-Swarling type cremation-burials in the south-east. Its continental origins were traced to northern Gaul, the area occupied by the historical Belgae, where a similar series of cremation-burials of Late La Tène date is known. This continental series, thought to mark a change from what seemed to be the universal practice of inhumation as mode of burial to cremation, was interpreted as representative of a fusion of inhuming



*Galli* with cremating *Germani* from across the Rhine. This fusion, leading to the formation of the Belgae, who, as Caesar records, boasted of their 'Germanic' origin, was thought to have taken place in the latter half of the second century B.C. The date for the first Belgic invaders of Britain was put at about 75 B.C.

However, at the last Conference on the Problems of the Iron Age in Southern Britain,<sup>4</sup> the initial settlement of the Belgae in Britain was up-dated. This resulted from Allen's reappraisal of the origins of coinage in Britain.<sup>5</sup> Of the waves of imported coinages, taken to reflect the pattern of Belgic migration to Britain, the two earliest were attributed to the second century B.C., while the third and main wave, Gallo-Belgic C, was dated to about 100 B.C. Some sort of Belgic activity is represented in the Lower Thames area by the coins of the second century—and perhaps also the few brooches and swords—but Belgic *settlement*, it was felt, should date at least from the time of the third coin wave, about 100 B.C.<sup>6</sup>

But is it possible to reconcile the story of the coins with that of the other archaeological material? Thus is called into question the initial chronology of the Aylesford-Swarling sequence.

The Aylesford-Swarling culture in Britain may be defined as an archaeological culture characterized by cremation-burials in flat graves and accompanied by distinctive pottery types. Re-examination of all the relevant material, including the reassembly of all possible grave-groups, suggests, particularly for Kent, the primary landfall, it is agreed, of the first Belgic invaders, the formation of 'homogeneous' groups of graves, based on the similarity of over-all contents. These form a simple relative chronological series, with 'early', 'middle', and 'late' periods.

The three reconstructed 'bucket-grave' groups from Aylesford, described and illustrated at the end of this article, form the basis of the 'middle' period. It is to this period that chronological *termini* may be proposed, suggested, on the one hand, by the pottery types, and on the other, by the associated non-ceramic material.

Excluded from this group, but found amongst the grave-material of the 'late' period, are pottery types generally attributable to the late first century B.C., the plate and butt-beaker forms which seem to appear on settlement sites at about 10 B.C.<sup>7</sup> We may take, then, about 10 B.C. as the approximate date for the end of the 'middle' period.

The initial date is suggested by the associated bronzes in the group. These bronzes, all from the Aylesford Grave 'Y' group, the bronze-plated situla grave, include a jug, a patella, and brooches; all have closest parallels with types found commonly in the Ornavasso cemetery in northern Italy.<sup>8</sup> The utensils, in particular, enjoy an interesting distribution in north-west Europe, but for present purposes their main interest once again concerns the chronological aspect.

In a comprehensive survey of Late La Tène bronze vessels<sup>9</sup> Werner has been



able to show that, generally speaking, the find-combinations of Late La Tène and early Roman utensils are mutually exclusive, thus facilitating a division between the Late La Tène period and the early Empire. These periods, according to Werner, coincided north of the Alps with the submission of the Vindelici in 15 B.C. and with the beginning of the military operations on the Rhine under Drusus in 12 B.C., when Campanian-cast forms and their upper Italian imitations replace the earlier types. The majority of the Late La Tène forms beyond the Alps Werner thus puts to the last ten years of the pre-Roman period. It is expected that the forthcoming republications of the material from the Ornavasso and Giubiasco cemeteries will add further weight to these conclusions. Meanwhile, these bronze vessels at Aylesford are to be placed between the Caesarian and Augustan periods.

Thus, since none of the diagnostic features of the Aylesford-Swarling 'middle' group can be proved to be characteristically pre-Caesarian in date, the time-range about 50 B.C. to about 10 B.C. should fairly include the whole of the group.

What, then, remains to represent the pre-Caesarian period and the initial stages of Belgic settlement?

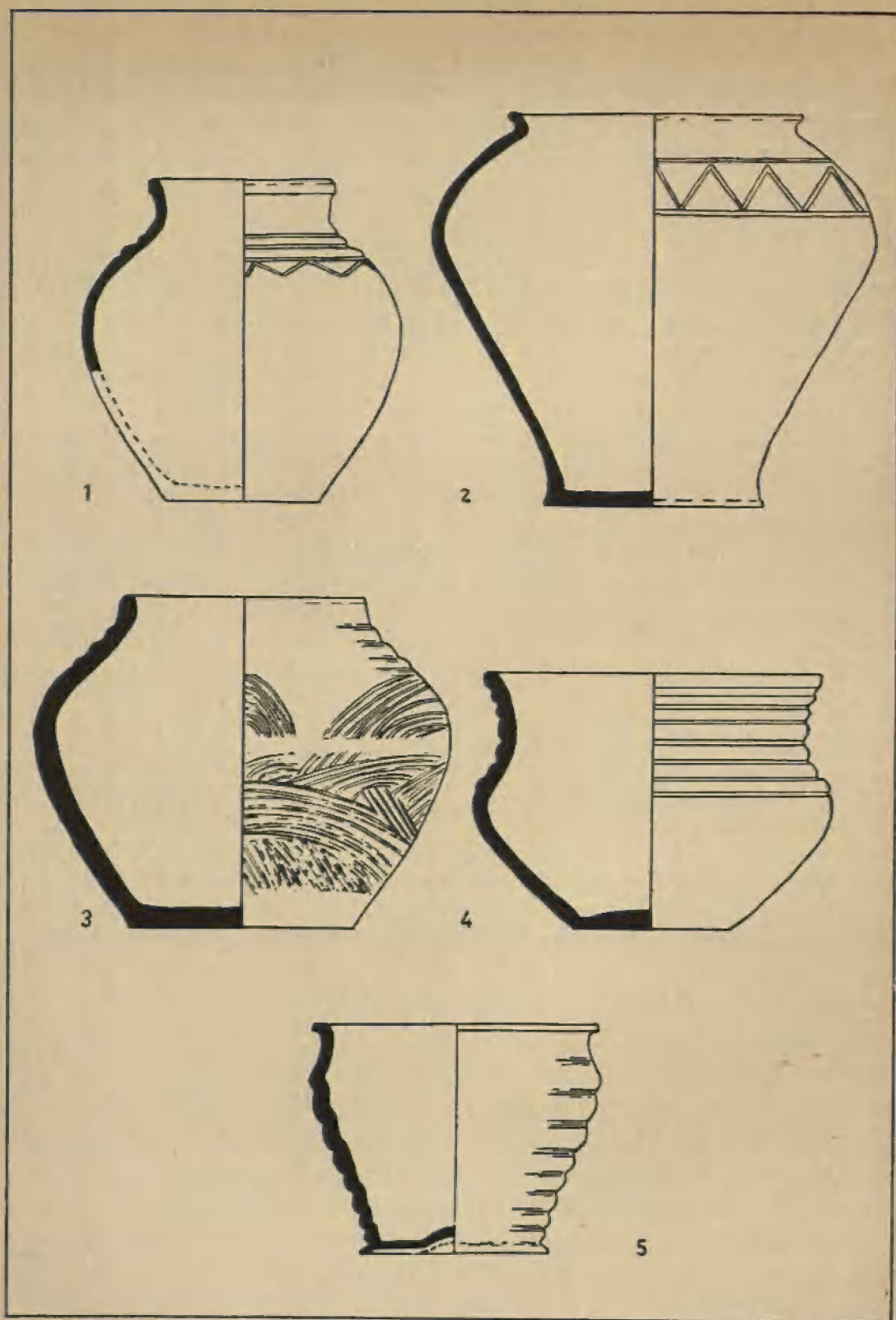
The material defined as typologically 'early' in the Aylesford-Swarling sequence comes mainly from Kent and comprises a few grave-groups, all from the Swarling cemetery<sup>10</sup>—but of these only two contained more than one pottery vessel—and some examples of similar pottery types without known associations.

Unfortunately, two of the relevant pottery types can be shown, when associated, to occur in late as well as early contexts. What may be the typologically *earliest* pottery seems all to come from Aylesford; of these few pots, all now unassociated, three, neither described nor illustrated by Evans, may not even have come from the cremation-burials but from another part of the cemetery apparently used at an earlier date.

The paucity of the material, then, in the 'early' group inevitably raises the question whether it may reasonably be claimed that the group, while it may be pre-Caesarian, extends as far back in time as the dating attributed at least to the main coin wave at about 100 B.C. This is indeed a pertinent question for, though coins may relate to the dominant and wealthier elements of society which are unlikely to be documented by other archaeological material such as coarse pottery, yet burial-material ought to relate to the whole of the society, and the 'early' group represents the earliest typological stage in the Aylesford-Swarling sequence. It must therefore be doubted whether, on present evidence, there are grounds for up-dating the Aylesford-Swarling culture.

On the other hand, the earlier dating for Belgic settlement in Britain proposed by the coin evidence gains some support from a reconsideration of the continental material. For it can now be shown that the continental Belgic tribes are of earlier origin than has hitherto been supposed.





AYLESFORD GRAVE 'X' (Wooden Bucket Grave)

Scale 1:4

Analysis of the parallel Late La Tène series of Aylesford-Swarling type burials on the Continent reveals that its characteristic features of cremation-burial and distinctive pottery types have origins in Middle, and even Early, La Tène. Hence the conclusion that the southern Belgic tribes were developing during the third century B.C. at latest. This is, moreover, consistent with the results of Mariën's work on the La Tène material of the present-day Low Countries;<sup>11</sup> here, owing to the demonstrable continuity of culture in the regional groups throughout La Tène, the Belgic tribes inhabiting these northern regions in historical times can be traced back to origins in the fifth century. The 'Germanic' origin of the Belgae, when expressed in archaeological terms, is seen to be Urnfield.

In conclusion, it would seem that, if the higher dating of the coins is accepted and given the much earlier formation of the continental Belgic tribes, the Aylesford-Swarling sequence, which is more closely related to the culture of the southern Belgae and seems predominantly post-Caesarian in date, represents a later—albeit the most dominant—phase of Belgic settlement and culture in Britain. Aylesford-Swarling is now seen to extend only part way along the widened, and still widening, horizons of Belgic history.

#### *Aylesford Grave 'X' (Wooden Bucket Grave)*

The contents of this grave were collected by Mr. Lewis, whose account of their discovery is given by Evans ('On a Late-Celtic Urnfield at Aylesford, Kent', *Archaeologia*, lii (1890), pp. 319–20).

At a depth of about 5 feet, Lewis found the iron rings and parts of the iron hoop of a large wooden bucket (*ibid.*, fig. 2). From the size of these it was concluded that the diameter of the bucket was about 40 inches; several urns were found within the area originally enclosed by the rim of the bucket. The 'burial-pit' containing this material must have been unusually large, but no further details are given, beyond the note that this pit was one of a group of smaller pits all containing cinerary urns and lying within about 10 feet of it.

The grave-group has been reconstructed by a combination of Evans's information and that of the Registers in the British Museum. Thus it happens that the first urn figured here, Fig. 1, is referred to this grave-group specifically by Evans (being in fact the only urn so attributed by him to the group) while it is not so referred by the B.M. Register, nor is it in the numerical sequence of urns which the Register includes in the 'wooden bucket group'. This discrepancy in the attribution of Fig. 1 might have followed from an omission in the writing up of the Museum entries, but it might equally be the case that the published account is in error (*vide infra* for a similar error), since all the Aylesford material entered the Museum before the publication of Evans's paper and information might have been available at the time of the Museum registration which was not published.

According to the B.M. Register Figs. 1, 3, and 4 contained calcined bones.



Fig. 1. Reg. no. 1888, 10-24, 13. (Evans no. 16; pl. ix. 7.)

Dark grey-black smooth-textured ware with darker slip. Slight traces of polish. Gritty. Pattern incised on matt background.

Fig. 2. Reg. no. 1888, 10-24, 8. (Evans no. 24; pl. ix. 5.)

Light red-brown, smooth, close-textured ware. No slip or polish.

Fig. 3. Reg. no. 1888, 10-24, 10. (Evans no. 20.)

Grey-brown, gritty, smooth-textured clay with darker slip. Faint polish over neck and cordons. Deeply-incised combing.

Fig. 4. Reg. no. 1888, 10-24, 9. (Evans no. 33; pl. viii. 2.)

Dark grey-brown, gritty, close-textured ware; covered with darker grey slip in patches. Traces of polish over shoulder.

Fig. 5. Reg. no. 1888, 10-24, 11. (Evans no. 32; pl. viii. 7.)

Much restored. Sandy-brown, gritty, open-textured clay; coated with darker (black) slip, now patchy. Possibly this urn was polished.

### *Aylesford Grave '2' (Bronze-plated Situla Grave)*

This grave-group was discovered by Evans and his father in 1886 (Evans, p. 317).

The group was discovered in 'what had been a round burial-pit' (p. 318, fig. 1), about 3 ft. 6 in. deep, of which the sides and bottom had been coated with chalk.

The objects included a bronze-plated situla (Reg. no. 1886, 11-12, 3-7); illustrated on Pl. VIII. It contained burnt bones and the brooches illustrated on Pl. IX*b* (Reg. no. 1886, 11-12, 8, 9, and 10); a bronze jug or oenochoe (Reg. no. 1886, 11-12, 2) and a bronze patella (Reg. no. 1886, 11-12, 1), both illustrated on Pl. IX*a*. The patella lay outside the situla. Around lay the 'remains of several earthenware urns, some of which had been used as cineraries'.

All the pottery from this group, with the exception of a few body sherds of a vase which cannot now be reconstructed (Reg. no. 1886, 11-12, 15), is drawn and described here.

It will be seen that the diagrammatic sketch by Evans (p. 318, fig. 1) is inaccurate in the drawing of the pottery in this group. Notably the representation of the pedestal-urn is misleading.

Fig. 1. Reg. no. 1886, 11-12, 11. (Evans no. 7?)

Light, sandy, open-textured clay; gritty; covered in patches with a smooth, black, slightly polished slip.

Fig. 2. Reg. no. 1886, 11-12, 13.

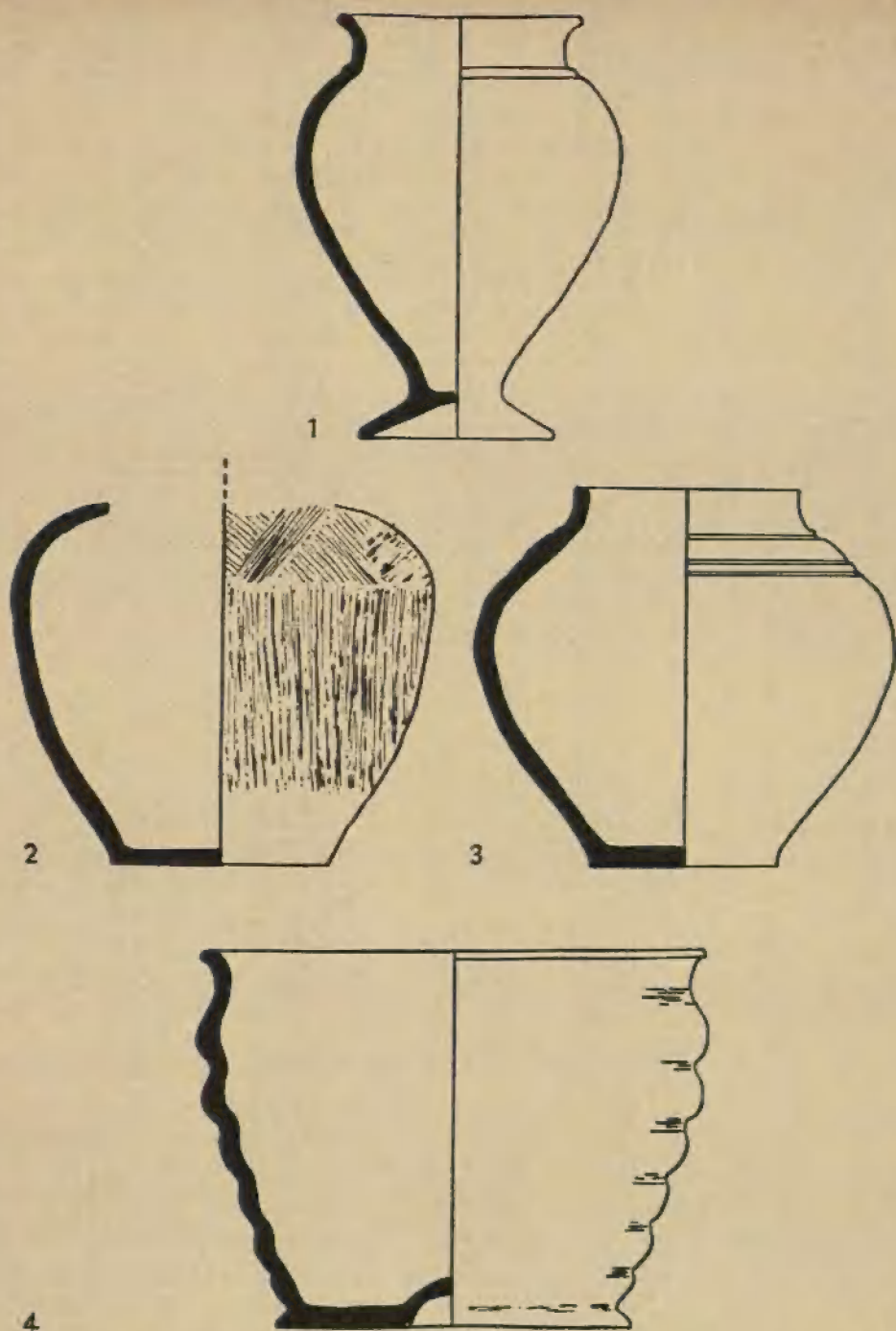
Fragmentary bowl, hand-made. Dark brown, smooth texture; darker patches. Finely combed. Much restored.

Fig. 3. Reg. no. 1886, 11-12, 12. (Evans no. 28?)

Yellow-brown, gritty, smooth-textured clay, coated with a darker polished slip.

Fig. 4. Reg. no. 1886, 11-12, 14.

Grey-black, fine-textured clay, covered with a black polished slip. Of special note are the corrugations overall and the omphaloid base.

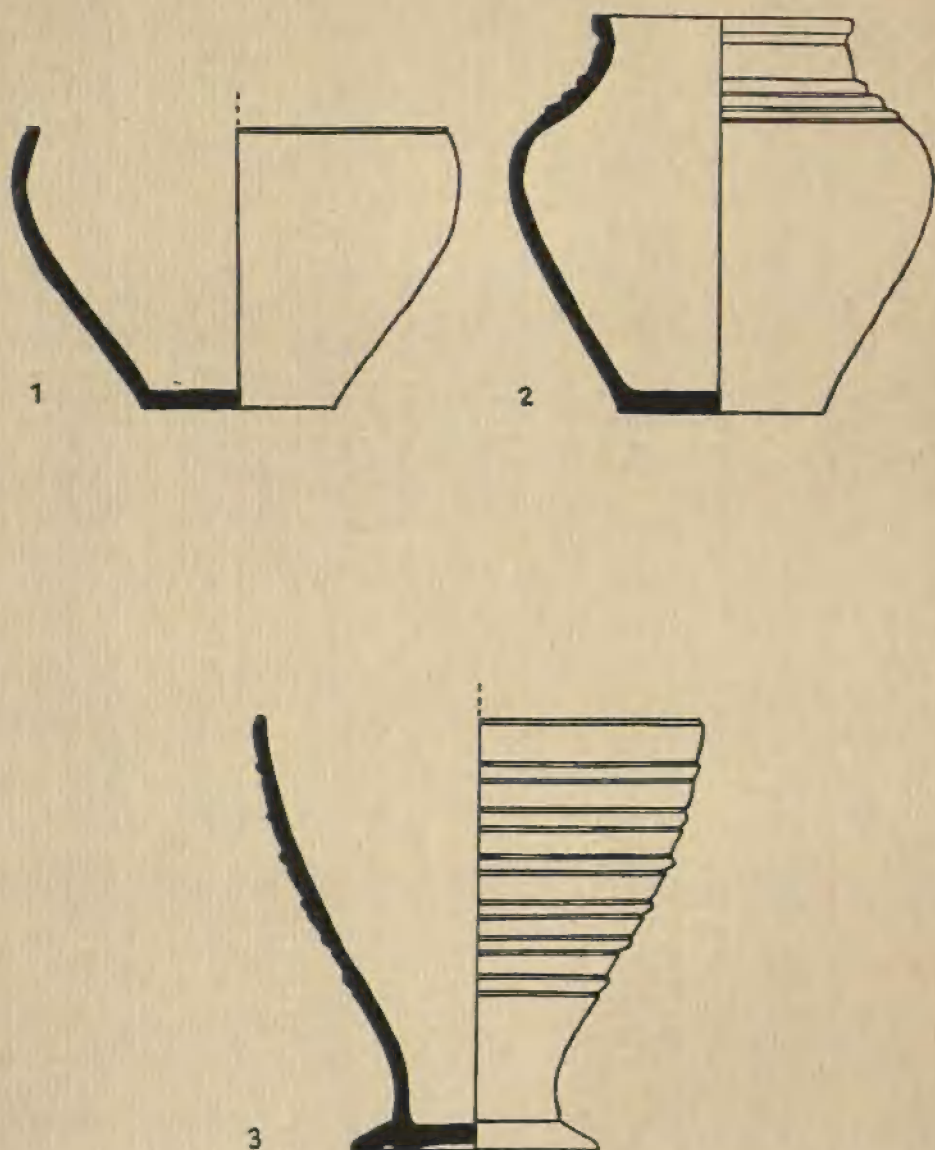


AYLESFORD GRAVE 'Y' (Bronze-plated Situla Grave)

Scale 1:4

*See also Plates VIII and IX*





AYLESFORD GRAVE 'Z' (Handled-Tankard Grave)

Scale 1:4

See also Plate X

### Aylesford Grave 'Z' (Handled-Tankard Grave)

The material from this grave was found on the Aylesford site by a Mr. Hales and purchased by the British Museum in 1887. An account of its discovery was given to Evans by Mr. Hales (Evans, pp. 317-18).

The principal object of interest was the bronze-plated wooden tankard with two perpendicular handles also of bronze (Reg. no. 1887, 6-10, 1), illustrated on Pl. X. Evans records that 'according to the account given' the tankard was found within a circle of five or six earthenware vases at a depth of about 18 inches below the present surface.

Only three urns could be restored enough to allow drawings to be made; the remaining sherds (Reg. no. 1887, 6-10, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10), however, in texture and manufacture resemble fairly closely the first vase in this group.

A flint flake was also found in this grave (Reg. no. 1887, 6-10, 2).

Fig. 1. Reg. no. 1887, 6-10, 4.

Fragmentary urn. Grey-brown, gritty clay; fairly close-textured. The urn is broken at the curve of the shoulder which was probably 'rippled', as the groove at this point suggests. The neck would either have been upright with rim everted as the following figure, or straighter and lipless as the third figures in both of the other bucket-graves.

Fig. 2. Reg. no. 1887, 6-10, 3. (Evans no. 29? The urn Evans illustrated on pl. vii. 2 is actually his no. 30.)

Sandy-brown, open-textured clay with darker, polished, smooth slip, in patches. Restored.

Fig. 3. Reg. no. 1887, 6-10, 5. (Evans no. 5; *ibid.*, p. 334, fig. 7.)

Incomplete pedestal-urn. Sharp cordons between grooves. Sandy brown, open-textured clay, coated with a black unpolished slip. Restored.

ANN BIRCHALL

<sup>1</sup> Full publication is anticipated shortly.

<sup>2</sup> This cemetery was published by Evans in 1890; A. J. Evans, 'On a Late-Celtic Urnfield at Aylesford, Kent', *Archaeologia*, lii (1890), pp. 317-88.

<sup>3</sup> C. F. C. Hawkes and G. C. Dunning, 'The Belgae of Gaul and Britain', *Archaeological Journal*, lxxxvii (1930), pp. 150-335.

<sup>4</sup> London, December, 1958; C. B. A. Conference on the Problems of the Iron Age in Southern Britain.

<sup>5</sup> D. F. Allen, 'The Origins of Coinage in Britain: A Reappraisal', *Institute of Archaeology Occasional Paper*, no. 11; *Conference on the Problems of the Iron Age in Southern Britain* (1958), pp. 97-308.

<sup>6</sup> C. F. C. Hawkes, 'The ABC of the British Iron Age', *ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>7</sup> e.g. Wheathampstead; R. E. M. Wheeler, *Verulamium* (1936), p. 149.

<sup>8</sup> E. Bianchetti, *I Sepolcreti di Ornavasso*, Turin, 1895.

<sup>9</sup> J. Werner, 'Die Bronzekanne von Kelheim', *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter*, xx (1954), pp. 43-73.

<sup>10</sup> The Swarling cemetery was published by Bushe-Fox in 1925; J. P. Bushe-Fox, 'Excavation of the Late-Celtic Urnfield at Swarling, Kent', *Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, no. v (1925), pp. 1-55.

<sup>11</sup> M. E. Mariën, *Oud België*, Antwerp, 1952.



## A FRANKISH AXE-HEAD FROM GERMANY

THE Department of British and Medieval Antiquities has recently purchased, with the aid of a grant from the Christy Trustees, an inlaid iron axe-head<sup>1</sup> of Frankish manufacture and of seventh-century date. The axe was sold as unprovenanced, but had previously been published with a find-place (Neuwieder Becken, Rheinland-Pfalz, Germany).<sup>2</sup> Its whereabouts was at that time unknown, but it had originally been in the Queckenburg collection, at Niederbreisig.<sup>3</sup>

The axe-head (Pl. XI) is 17.9 cm. in length and the faces and butt are inlaid with silver wire. The wire forms a pattern which is the same on each face. A billeted border follows the main outline of the object and encloses a number of similarly delineated, smaller fields. These contain regularly looped ribbon patterns which are perhaps inspired from the snake-like ornament of Style II: The ribbons are billeted in the same manner as the borders, but have no recognizable zoomorphic features. The odd corners of the fields are filled with simple loops of single-strand wire. In the centre of the butt-end, on either face, is a motif which looks like a spoked wheel. At the narrow part of the neck are two concentric circles. The rectangular field of the butt (Pl. XI) carried a pattern consisting of a spoked-wheel motif within a billeted border with a simple loop in each corner. The shaft-hole is rectangular in section and the upper and lower face of the axe bear no trace of ornament or inlay, although this may have disappeared in the course of corrosion.

The best parallel, in form and decoration, is an axe-head from Langeloh in the Eifel, Germany, at one time in the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Berlin.<sup>4</sup> Another parallel is provided by the axe-head from Venlo, Holland, now in the Rijksmuseum G. M. Kam in Nijmegen,<sup>5</sup> which has recently been cleaned and published by Mr. J. Ypey.<sup>6</sup> It is of only slightly different form and of almost the same size as the British Museum's axe-head and the ornament is executed in a very similar manner and with some approximately similar motifs. There can be little doubt that the British Museum example is closely related to those found at Venlo and at Langeloh—so closely related that one is almost tempted to say that they come from the same workshop.<sup>7</sup> None of these objects is known to have been found in association with datable material, so dating must depend on art-history and typology.

Ypey has dated the Venlo axe-head to the early ninth century on purely typological grounds, comparing its form to Viking axes of Petersen's type E.<sup>8</sup> He states that he knows no parallel to this form of axe in the Merovingian period<sup>9</sup> and says that the ornament is undatable. Both the British Museum

axe-head and the Langeloh axe-head were dated by Kühn<sup>10</sup> to 'um 700', he has not justified this date in any way, but to my mind this dating seems to be the more likely of the two.

No other axe-head with similar ornament is known to me, although the practice of inlaying or encrustation of axe-heads is well known in northern and eastern Europe in the Viking period.<sup>11</sup> One or two earlier—but very different—examples of inlaid or encrusted axe-heads are known, some of which are very elaborate.<sup>12</sup> The practice of inlaying objects with silver was, however, fairly universal throughout Europe from the middle of the Roman period to the end of the Viking Age.<sup>13</sup> The ornamental detail of the British Museum, Venlo, and Langeloh axes is best paralleled in Frankish ironwork ornamented with inlay or encrustation of silver or bronze, as for example on the buckle plate from Charnay, Saône-et-Loire, France,<sup>14</sup> which has a rather more coherent version of the ribbon or snake ornament which appears on the British Museum axe-head. From the same site comes another buckle,<sup>15</sup> the plate of which has a tendency towards the incoherence of the ornament of the British Museum axe-head, while an even closer parallel is provided by the snakes on the belt set from the Belgian cemetery of Wanquetin.<sup>16</sup> The wheel-like features can be seen, for example on a buckle from the French cemetery at Bourogne.<sup>17</sup>

Parallels such as these are the nearest we can get to the design of the British Museum axe-head, which, with the related examples from Langeloh and Venlo, must be seen as Frankish products of the seventh century—for no ninth-century parallels can be found. The ornament seems to be a degenerate form of the ornament commonly found on buckle-plates of this period.

It is not easy to parallel the form of the three inlaid axe-heads. Their form is not that of the normal head of a Frankish throwing axe; these are heavier objects which have not quite achieved the normal bearded shape of the later axe-heads. The form of the shaft-hole and butt can be roughly compared to axe-heads like that (which may well have been originally inlaid) from Lezéville, Haute-Marne, France,<sup>18</sup> but the closest parallel is provided by the axe-head from the Frankish cemetery from Beusingen, which has a slightly different but obviously related, form.<sup>19</sup>

There can be little doubt that this axe-head is Frankish and, on the analogy of the ornament, it seems probable that it is of seventh-century date. This fits very well with its Rhenish provenance and with the provenances of the other related axe-heads.

This axe-head can have had little practical use as an implement for chopping down trees or similar inanimate objects—the silver wire would have been too easily damaged—we must, I think, consider it as the head of a ceremonial axe or battle-axe. This is not the place to discuss the general symbolic significance of the axe—this has been adequately and enthusiastically dealt with by Paulsen<sup>19</sup>—



suffice it to say that from the Bronze Age until the end of the Middle Ages, to state the most conservative limits, the axe had been at once a symbolic object and a weapon of offence. Whether this axe-head filled both or either of these functions we shall never know, all one can say is that it would have made a very handy weapon!<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Reg. no. 1961, 5-5, 1: Kenrick Sale, Christie's, 26 April 1961, lot 24.

<sup>2</sup> H. Kühn, *Die vorgeschichtliche Kunst Deutschlands*, Berlin, 1935, pp. 468 and 566.

<sup>3</sup> Other Merovingian objects have the same provenance, cf., for example, *ibid.*, pp. 417, 470, 554, and 566.

<sup>4</sup> Inv. no. I: 2385. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 468 and 566.

<sup>5</sup> Inv. no. xxi b. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. J. Ypey, 'Een met zilver geincrusteerde bijl uit Venlo', *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek*, 1960/1, pp. 578-80 and figs. 33 and 34.

<sup>7</sup> The fact that the upper face of the Venlo axe-head is also inlaid may perhaps indicate that the British Museum example was similarly decorated.

<sup>8</sup> J. Petersen, *De Norske Vikingesverd, en typologisk-kronologisk studie over vikingetidens vaaben*, Kristiania, 1919 (*Videnskaps-selskabet's Skrifter*, ii, *Hist. Filo. Klasse*, no. 1), fig. 65.

<sup>9</sup> Ypey, loc. cit., p. 579.

<sup>10</sup> Op. cit., pl. 468.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. P. Paulsen, *Axt und Kreuz in Nord- und Osteuropa*, 2nd ed., Bonn 1956, 101-89.

<sup>12</sup> Cf., for example, L. Lindenschmit, *Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, iv, Mainz 1900, pl. 41.

<sup>13</sup> Cf., for example, W. Holmqvist, *Tauschierte Metallarbeiten des Nordens aus Römerzeit und Völkerwanderung*, Stockholm 1951 (*Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, 70: 2); É. Salin, *La Civilisation mérovingienne*, iii, Paris, 1957, pp. 166-210; D. M. Wilson, 'An Inlaid Iron Folding-stool in the British Museum', *Medieval Archaeology*, i (1957), pp. 39-56.

<sup>14</sup> W. Holmqvist, *Kunstprobleme der Merowingerzeit*, Stockholm, 1939, (*Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, 47), pl. vii, 3.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xli. 2.

<sup>16</sup> de Loë, *Belgique ancienne*, iv, Bruxelles 1939, fig. 150.

<sup>17</sup> F. Scheurer and A. Lablotier, *Fouilles du cimetière barbare de Bourgne*, Paris/Nancy 1914, pl. xlv.

<sup>18</sup> É. Salin and A. France-Lanord, *Le Fer à l'époque mérovingienne*, Paris, 1943, fig. 18 bis.

<sup>19</sup> L. Lindenschmit, *Handbuch der deutschen Alterthumskunde* . . . , i, Braunschweig 1880, fig. 89.

<sup>20</sup> I must acknowledge the help of Dr. P. Paulsen for information which led to the unearthing of the provenance of this object.

## AN EARLY COLA LINGODHBHAVAMURTI

IN a recent paper,<sup>1</sup> the first of a series to be devoted to the development of Brahmanical iconography in south India, Professor Jean Filliozat has outlined his views of the evolution of the Lingodbhavamurti according to the texts and the surviving images. A discussion of this controversial paper may provide a useful background to a fine Early Cola image of Lingodbhava<sup>2</sup> in the British Museum (Pl. xii).

The central theme of the Lingodbhava legend is well known. During a dispute between Brahmā and Vishnu, both claiming to be creator of the universe, a linga

suddenly appears before them. To discover the origin of the flames which envelop it, Vishnu delves into the earth in the form of a boar (varāha) and Brahmā flies upwards in the form of a swan (hamsa). Failing to find the top or bottom of the linga they return defeated. Brahmā, however, uses a ketakī flower which had fallen from Siva's head ages earlier as evidence that he had reached the summit of the linga. Siva bursts from the linga, the lie is revealed, and both gods then worship the Supreme Lord. Professor Filliozat's analysis of the texts which present the legend itself may be left to specialists in that field: it is sufficient here to repeat his conclusions. For him the primitive theme appears in the Keno-panisad with Brahmā, not Siva, as the hero. He sees its subsequent development in three stages: the legend is transferred to Siva, but Brahmā and Vishnu retain their human forms; Brahmā and Vishnu assume animal forms and the whole story becomes 'une légende étologique' to support the linga cult; and finally are added the episode of the ketakī flower which falls from Siva's crown, and Brahmā's lie that he had reached the top of the linga. A fourth stage, in which the legend is combined with that of Bhikshātana, does not concern us here or Professor Filliozat in his paper. He does not say whether this three-stage development is purely formal or whether textual criticism of the Purānas which he uses would give it a real chronological basis.

As regards the representation of Lingodbhavamurti in art he assembles the evidence of twelve āgamas, upāgamas, or silpasatras. Siva should be shown in the oval opening of the linga as Candrasekhara, his feet concealed, his two upper hands holding the axe and the antelope, his two lower in abhaya and varada mudrā. Above the opening but on the linga Brahmā should be depicted in the form of a hamsa (swan), and Vishnu below in the form of varāha (head of boar and human body). On either side of the linga Brahmā and Vishnu should further be represented, standing, in human form, and with hands in anjali mudrā. There are several variations in the texts: the top of Siva's crown may also be concealed in the linga; the venu and tanka may be held in the upper hands; Brahmā and Vishnu flanking the linga may be omitted; Brahmā on the linga need not be entirely a hamsa in form but only winged; Vishnu may be wholly boar or only boar-headed; finally, the relative positions, to right or left, of hamsa and varāha, and of standing Brahmā and Vishnu, are interchanged from one text to another. Neither a formal or chronological sequence is possible here, nor does Professor Filliozat attempt it.

He then proceeds to the images and says that the eighty-five or so representations he has collected follow the prescriptions of the āgamas closely, with the exception of three pieces 'les plus anciennes'. Of the latter the first to be discussed is the unique Lingodbhava in the cave in the Satyagirisvaram Temple at Tirumayam, which he attributes to about the eighth century A.D. The Siva has two hands only, the left resting on the thigh, the right in varada mudrā. He is



concealed in the linga to above the knee. There is no hamsa or varāha, Brahmā or Vishnu. This seems to be the only Lingodbhava image of any age to have one of the hands in the varada mudrā. He then illustrates the Lingodbhava from the Virupaksha Temple at Pattadakal, which he attributes to the eighth century A.D. and which can be more precisely dated to the reign of Vikramāditya II (A.D. 733–45). Here is represented a linga, flamed, with a wreath round the top, and containing a two-handed Siva, one hand in abhaya mudrā, the other resting on the thigh. Above Siva's shoulders are two attributes; the axe and what Professor Filliozat calls 'un baton avec des appendices peu distincts', which is in fact the sula. He adds: 'Le hamsa, le varāha, Brahmā et Vishnu sont absents.' This is not correct. Brahmā is not represented as a hamsa, it is true, but even in Professor Filliozat's photograph the human form of Brahmā in flight is quite clear at the height of Siva's head on his proper right. Varāha is also represented on the base but is more heavily abraded. The two attributes above the shoulders virtually transform the Siva into a four-armed image. Professor Filliozat's third example is the panel, not illustrated by him, on the south side of the garbhagriha of the Kailasanatha Temple at Kanchipuram, of the early eighth century A.D. He mentions Siva's eight arms, his moon in the head-dress, his huge axe and sula. He omits to mention the standing image of Vishnu with hand in vismaya mudrā on Siva's left, the varāha below the linga, and the two representations of Brahmā on Siva's right, above, in human form in flight, and below, standing with hands in vismaya mudrā. It is not clear what conclusions Professor Filliozat wished to draw from the Tirumayam, Pattadakal, and Kanchipuram images. Since his first group of āgamic images is that in which hamsa and varāha are lacking, it looks as if he wished to establish that they are equally absent from the three most ancient pieces. In fact, all the elements which go to make up the Lingodbhava image were in the early eighth century A.D. already present in the sculpture of the Early Western Calukyas (Pattadakal) and the Pallavas (Kailasanatha). The point to emphasize is that though the varāha is present, Brahmā in flight is always represented in human form and alongside or touching, but not on, the linga. Several other examples, unmentioned by Professor Filliozat, may be quoted to make this point. An early eighth-century A.D. image from the Svarga Brahmā Temple at Alampur (Pl. XIII) is another important Early Western Calukya version of the theme. Here Siva is fully exposed in the linga, four-handed, the upper hands holding the axe and sula, the lower in abhaya mudrā and resting on the thigh. On his left are two images of Vishnu, above, standing with hands in anjali mudrā, and below, as varahā. On Siva's right are three images of Brahmā; above, the human form in flight, in the middle, standing with hands in anjali mudrā and, below, seated. The Siva in the Lingodbhavamurti in the Das Avatar Cave at Elura, to be dated about A.D. 750, is four-handed, the two lower in abhaya mudrā and resting on hip, the upper holding the axe and an abraded object often interpreted as the



antelope. On Siva's left are a standing Vishnu in anjali mudrā and the varāha, and, on his right, a standing Brahmā in anjali mudrā and, above, Brahmā in flight. A second Lingodbhavamurti at Elura in the Kailasanatha Cave (eastern gallery), to be dated ninth century A.D., shows Siva, who is two-armed only, concealed in the linga up to the thigh. Here again he is flanked by a Vishnu and varāha, and a standing and flying Brahmā. The positions of the deities, in respect of the linga, are, however, reversed. There are other Pallava examples. A second image in the Kailasanatha Temple (north side of court, sixth shrine from east end) also shows a four-handed Siva, the lower hands in abhaya mudrā and on hip, the upper too abraded to interpret. Varāha appears on the base of the linga which is flanked by Brahmā and Vishnu standing with hands in vismaya mudrā. Above them are two flying figures but it is difficult to see whether the one above Brahmā is intended to be the god in flight. The end walls of the garbhagrihas of the Matangesvara and Muktesvara Temples at Kanchipuram, both of eighth-century date but rather later than the Kailasanatha, also contain Lingodbhavamurtis in the position which in the Cola period will become canonical for the image. On the Matangesvara the four-armed Siva is shown fully revealed and is flanked by Brahmā and Vishnu with hands in vismaya mudrā. There seems to be no varāha and no Brahmā in flight. On the contemporary Muktesvara, however, the feet of the four-armed Siva are concealed in the linga, and there is a varāha on the base. Brahmā and Vishnu, in vismaya mudrā, flank the central image in separate niches. As for the Tirumayam image it is, whatever its date, unique, and may represent a specifically Pandya version of the theme. It is worth noting that in the other early Lingodbhava from Pandya country, in the first of the three caves at Kunnakudi, neither Brahmā nor Vishnu are represented on the linga. Flanking it, however, are standing figures of the two deities in anjali mudrā and above Brahmā is shown a miniature hamsa.

Professor Filliozat then proceeds to deal with the images which seem to him to obey the āgamic prescriptions in the following formal series, to which are added such chronological indications as he provides.

(a) Images where the hamsa and varāha are not depicted. This happens 'dans quelques cas anciens', of which he quotes Nankur, undated by him, and a sculpture from the Rājarājesvara Temple at Tanjavur of the early eleventh century A.D. I have not visited Nankur and the sculpture is unpublished. The Tanjavur image would indeed be very rare in the Cola period, not only in this respect but also in that Siva's feet are uncovered, that he is flanked on his right by an image of a kneeling Vishnu, and that the image occupies a niche on the south-east side of the garbhagriha. On Siva's left, says Professor Filliozat, is an empty space, which should have contained the Brahmā. Now there is on the west or end wall of the garbhagriha of the Rājarājesvara Temple a Lingodbhava,<sup>3</sup> not mentioned by Professor Filliozat, which obeys all the prescriptions of the āgamas



and shows Brahma on the linga in human shape but winged, a form allowed by the Dipta āgama, but no instance of which is quoted by Professor Filliozat. The existence of a canonical Lingodbhava on the garbhagriha of the Rājarājesvara Temple raises the question whether the image quoted by Professor Filliozat, uncanonical in so many respects, is, in fact, a Lingodbhava. I would suggest that such duplication is unlikely. Moreover the kneeling Vishnu is carved from the same block of stone as the central figure, which suggests that a Brahmā is not missing on Siva's left side.

(b) Images where the Brahmā on the linga is represented in human form with four heads and not as hamsa. This is not permitted by the āgamas, which allow only the winged Brahmā as alternative to the hamsa. A four-headed Brahmā in flight appears, says Professor Filliozat, 'dans d'autres exemples anciens'. He quotes 'une autre image du Grand Temple de Tançavur'. Unfortunately, this image (his fig. 5) does not come from the Rājarājesvara Temple itself, or from any other shrine within the compound, and belongs not to the early eleventh but to the seventeenth century A.D. He also illustrates another example from Punjai, but does not hazard a date. With the latter he associates an image from Tiruvandarkoyil which was judged by P. Z. Pattabiramin, rightly in my opinion, to be a recent replacement.<sup>4</sup> Two other points are made: there is a garland around the top of the linga in the Tanjavur image 'qui est constant dans les représentations plus récentes', and there is an image at Kileyur, of the twelfth century A.D., where Brahma retains his human form but rides on the hamsa, again a type which does not follow the āgamas. It must be protested that the images quoted are wholly unhelpful to our inquiry, except for Punjai, which he does not date. The real situation is quite clear. The Lingodbhavamurti, in which Siva is represented as Candrakasekhara, appears first in the earliest reigns of the Early Cola period (about A.D. 850-1014). It follows the pre-Cola images (Early Western Calukya and Pallava) in that, though Vishnu is shown as varāha, Brahmā in flight is always in human form. It differs from the pre-Cola images in that Brahmā in flight is always shown on the upper portion of the linga, not flanking or touching it. It disobeys the āgamic prescriptions in that Brahmā in flight is not represented as a hamsa, one of Siva's lower hands is rarely if ever in varada mudrā, and the two flanking standing deities are much more frequently in vismaya than in anjali mudrā. This earliest type of Cola Lingodbhavamurti is constant throughout the reign of Āditya I (about A.D. 871-907) and the earlier part of the reign of Parāntaka I (A.D. 907-about 955). Relatively few examples have survived, since on the end wall of the garbhagriha there was still great variation of image, Vishnu, Ardhanārī, and Subrahmanyam being also found. The best-known example is at Pullamangai of the early tenth century A.D.<sup>5</sup> The important piece (Pl. XII) in the British Museum is of the same date or a little earlier. Siva, his feet concealed in the linga, is shown as Candrasekhara, the two



upper hands holding the axe and antelope, the two lower in abhaya mudrā and resting on the hip. The aperture in the linga within which he stands is flamed from his shoulders upwards. Placed in the centre of the linga are, above, Brahmā, four-armed, in flight, and, below, Vishnu, two-armed, with the head of a boar. This type is also found at the Gomuktesvara Temple at Tiruvaduturai, Tanjavur District, which is dated A.D. 945, and at the Naltunai Isvaram Temple at Punjai, which may be dated to the reign of Aditya II or a little earlier (about A.D. 950). It continues into the eleventh century A.D., and later, alongside other forms. It is interesting to note that when Abhimānavalli, a queen of Rājārāja I, set up, before the 29th year of her husband's reign (A.D. 1014), a bronze image of Lingodbhava at the Rājārājesvara Temple, it was of this type, with solid images of Brahmā with four arms and Vishnu with the head of a boar (varāhamukha) and four arms, both joined to the linga.<sup>6</sup> The form in which Brahmā is mounted on a swan, of which Professor Filliozat quotes a twelfth-century example at Kileyur, appeared also in the Early Cola period. The best example is at the closely dated Umamahesvara Temple at Konerirājapuram, which was built between A.D. 969 and 976. Another good instance is on the Agastyesvara Temple at Ānangur, dated about A.D. 979. This type, however, had made an even earlier appearance in the Viruttanesvara Temple at Kilur, constructed about the middle of the reign of Parantaka I. It thus treads closely on the form where Brahmā is wingless. As for the wreath around the top of the linga it may be 'constant dans les représentations plus récentes', but it appears in Cola art as early as the tenth century A.D. at Kilur, Konerirājapuram, Ānangur, and elsewhere.

(c) Images where the Brahma on the linga is represented as a hamsa, flying or stationary, the form required by the āgamas. This type is 'beaucoup le plus courant à partir des XI<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles'. Professor Filliozat illustrates an image from Tiruvannāmalai showing the bird stationary (his fig. 7) which he does not date but is not earlier than the seventeenth century A.D. In fact, this type appears in the Early Cola period. The earliest example known to me is on the Tiru-Alandurai-Mahadeva Temple at Kilappaluvur, which S. R. Balasubrahmanyam<sup>7</sup> has dated to the early Parāntaka I period but which, in my view, was constructed in the 15th year of Uttama Cola (A.D. 984). Another early example is found in the well-known temple at Madagadipattu constructed in the reign of Rājārāja I (A.D. 984-1014).<sup>8</sup>

(d) The Ketakī flower is shown either falling or held in the beak of the hamsa. This type is for Professor Filliozat 'tard seulement, comme dans les textes'. It may be late in the 'texts', but in the āgamas, on his own showing, it does not find mention at all. He goes on to quote Kamarasavalli (his fig. 8) for the first form and Tirunelvayil Aratturai (his fig. 9) for the second. He offers a date for neither temple. Now the image from the Karkotakesvara Temple at Kamarasavalli is



probably as early as Rājārāja I. At least eight inscriptions of his reign (from the year 13 onwards) are inscribed on the garbhagriha of the temple. Indeed, it could be argued that it dates from the 60's of the tenth century A.D. (On the south wall of the garbhagriha is an inscription (74 of 1904) which is dated in the 5th year of a Rājakesarivarman who is probably Sundara Cola Parāntaka II, in which case the date would be equivalent to A.D. 961).

Professor Filliozat ends his paper with this statement: 'Ainsi peuvent se classer parallèlement dans une évolution sensible, les œuvres existantes des artistes et les textes théoriques qui en exposent l'inspiration, et en ont voulu régler l'exécution.' Now the texts which regulate the execution of the images, i.e. the āgamas, show no evolution whatever of the conception of the Lingodbhavamurti. They merely present a central theme with numerous variations of detail. Moreover in the crucial detail on which his case depends, the form of the representation of Brahmā on the linga, three of his types, (a), (b), and (d), do not even follow the āgamas, which describe one type only, (c), where Brahmā is to be represented on the linga as a hamsa. One text alone, the Diptā, permits him to be shown in winged human shape, and Professor Filliozat gives no example of this form. On his own evidence he should associate all the āgamas with type (c), which is 'beaucoup le plus courant à partir des XI<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles' and is illustrated by a seventeenth-century A.D. image from Tiruvannāmalai. Perhaps he is on firmer ground with the sequence which he finds in the texts which present the legend itself: Brahmā and Vishnu retaining their human forms; Brahmā and Vishnu in animal forms; the introduction of the episode of the Ketakī flower. But, as we have seen, Vishnu is shown as varāha in the earliest (eighth century A.D.) examples of the Lingodbhavamurti both in the Deccan and in south India, at Alampur and Kanchipuram. Moreover if he wished to argue that his image on the Rājārājesvara Temple at Tanjavur (type a) were equivalent to the first form of the legend, he would have to admit that it is exactly contemporary with the Lingodbhavamurti on the same temple which shows Vishnu as varāha and a winged Brahmā, and with the Lingodbhavamurti dedicated by Queen Abhimānavalli which showed Vishnu as varāha and a flying Brahmā. Moreover, all the other types which he mentions have made their appearance before the date of the Rājārājesvara Temple. In short, the sequence which he finds in the texts, if correct, is not paralleled by the clear development of the image itself.

To recapitulate. From the early eighth to the early tenth century A.D. Vishnu is represented as varāha and Brahmā in flight in human form. Thereafter all the variations affecting the Cola representation of Brahmā in flight, which Professor Filliozat seems by his chronological indications and certainly by his cited example to spread out over several, or, to be precise, 600 years, are introduced in rapid succession over a period of no more than two generations. Brahmā on the hamsa appears at Kilur, Konerirājapuram, and Ānangur; Brahmā as hamsa at



Kilappaluvur; the hamsa with ketakī at Kamarasavalli; and a winged Brahmā on the Rājarājesvara Temple at Tanjavur. A more detailed study of tenth-century-A.D. images would probably indicate that the first introductions of the various types are even more closely knit chronologically. A winged Brahmā could almost certainly be found earlier than on the Rājarājesvara Temple.

Finally, a word about the term Lingodbhavamurti, as used by Professor Filliozat to describe this image. It would be difficult, no doubt, to establish the earliest use of this term, but one thing seems certain. In the Early Cola period and probably earlier this image was described as Lingapurānadeva, the term used by Queen Abhimānavalli in her dedication of the bronze image to the Rājarājesvara Temple.

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<sup>1</sup> 'Les Images de Śiva dans L'Inde du Sud. I. L'Image de l'origine du Linga (Lingodbhavamurti)', *Arts Asiatiques*, tome viii, fasc. i, 1961.

<sup>2</sup> British Museum no. 1955, 10-18, I. Diorite. Height: 4 ft. 6 in. Given by P. T. Brooke Sewell, Esq.

<sup>3</sup> J. N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, pl. xxxi. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Quatres vieux temples des environs de Pondichéry*, Pondichéry, 1948, p. 47.

<sup>5</sup> James C. Harle, *Pullamangai*, Bombay, 1958, pl. 7.

<sup>6</sup> *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, no. 44.

<sup>7</sup> *Four Cola Temples*, Bombay, 1963.

<sup>8</sup> P. Z. Pattabiramin, *Temple de Madagadipattou*, Pondichéry, 1951, pl. xiii.

## SHĀH-JĪ-KĪ-ḌHERĪ CASKET INSCRIPTION

A RELIC casket was discovered by D. B. Spooner long ago in the relic chamber of a ruined stūpa in course of an excavation at the Shāh-jī-kī-ḍheri mounds outside the Ganj gate of Peshawar.<sup>1</sup> The casket in question is composed of an alloy, in which copper predominates. It is cylindrical in shape, and measures 5 inches in diameter, with a height of 4 inches. A deep lid is fitted on its top. Among the notable features of the casket mention may be made of three figures in the round on the upper surface of the lid, representing, Indra, Buddha, and Brahmā. Around the body of the casket are seen three seated Buddha figures and also another group consisting of a male person clad in well-known Yüeh-chih dress and standing between Sun and Moon. The latter two deities also appear on several Kushāṇa coins, and it seems that the male figure between these divinities may be a Yüeh-chih royal personage.<sup>2</sup>

The casket has four lines of Kharoshthī writing, punched in a series of faint dots. This inscription was edited by D. B. Spooner<sup>3</sup> and later again by S. Konow,<sup>4</sup> and commented on by J. Marshall,<sup>5</sup> N. G. Majumdar,<sup>6</sup> H. K. Deb,<sup>7</sup> and T. Burrow.<sup>8</sup> As none of the readings of this record seems to be absolutely definite, a fresh attempt to re-edit it has long been a desideratum. This is now being done



with the help of an electrotpe copy of the casket kindly supplied by Mr. D. Barrett of the British Museum. This copy was made when the original casket was sent to the British Museum for cleaning and restoration, which revealed the inscription more clearly than hitherto. In editing this inscription I have received valuable advice and suggestions from Professor R. G. Basak, Professor A. L. Basham, Professor J. Brough, and Professor S. K. Saraswati.

The language of this record is North-Western Prakrit, in which are written the great majority of the Kharoshthī inscriptions of the north-western part of the Indo-Pak sub-continent. In some cases the role of the cerebral and dental *na* seems to be interchanged.<sup>9</sup> Nominative singular in some cases seems to end with *e*. Presence of otiose *r*, a common feature in Kharoshthī inscriptions, can also be noticed at least once in this record. The palaeography of the Kharoshthī script of this record can be closely compared with that of the inscriptions on metal coming from Kurram<sup>10</sup> and Wardak.<sup>11</sup> Several letters of all these three records have bottom strokes projecting to the left. The letter *y* has a broad head in all the three epigraphs. The upper parts of some letters of the Shāh-jī-kī-ḍherī inscription are elongated. Such a feature can also be noticed, at least occasionally, in the other two inscriptions. The only palaeographic trait not common to these three documents is the formation of loops in the upper parts of some letters (see Pls. xvi–xvii), which is found in the Shāh-jī-kī-ḍherī record alone. If we ignore this element, which does not appear to have been a characteristic of any Kharoshthī letter of any age in the Indo-Pak sub-continent,<sup>12</sup> there can be little difficulty in assigning the inscription in question to that period to which the other two records belong. And since the Kurram casket inscription and the Wardak vase inscription are dated respectively in the years 20 and 51 of the era of Kanishka I, our record can be assigned, at least palaeographically, to any time of the period covered by the first fifty or more years of that reckoning.

If we read the epigraph under review from the top of the casket, the first line will be the one incised on the upper surface of the lid. It can be read clearly as *acharyana(na) sarvastivadina pratigrahe*, and can mean ‘in the acceptance [i.e. for the acceptance] of the Sarvāstivādin teachers’.

The second line is incised on the lower edge of the lid. Konow read it as *sam* (1) (*ma*) (*haraja*\*) *sa Kani(ni)* (*skhasa*\*). *imaṇa(na)g(r)ar(e)cdha*\*). . . . *g(r)aryaka*.<sup>13</sup> However, on the electrotpe copy of the casket we can read this line only as . . . *jasa kani Kanishkapure nagrare ayam gamdhakaramde*. At the end of the line appears a sign looking like L. This cannot be taken either as a sign marking the end of a sentence or as that for any numeral denoting a date. Line 3 begins with the word *deyadharmme*. This should be connected with the word *gamdhakaramde* of line 2, since this *gamdhakaramde* or ‘perfume box’ is the *deyadharmme* or ‘meritorious gift’ which our inscription records. Thus the sentence does not end in line 2, but continues into line 3. Hence the figure in question cannot



be a mark of punctuation. Again, since the figure concerned does not exactly correspond to any known sign of any numeral, and since a numeral denoting a date or something else seems unlikely to occur between the words *gamdhakaramide* and *deyadharmme*, it seems almost certain that this does not stand for a numeral. Hence it should be regarded as an engraver's inadvertent stroke.

The words *Kanishkapure nagrare*, meaning 'in the city of (the name of) Kanishkapura', preceding *ayan gamdhakaramide* of line 2 and *deyadharmme* of line 3, obviously denote the region where the meritorious gift was donated. Since the sentence which we find in line 2 ends, as we shall see, with *deyadharmme* in line 3, and since no name of the donor occurs in line 1, it is natural to expect to see in either, or in both, of the two words preceding *Kanishkapure* a reference to the donor. If we now remember that the figure of a Yüeh-chih royal personage on the casket may indicate a Yüeh-chih monarch's association with its dedication, and that the inscription itself can be palaeographically assigned to any time of the period covered by the first fifty or more years of the era of Kanishka I, it will be tempting to see in *Kani* a reference to *Kanishka*. In fact, in one inscription the name of Kanishka is known to have been written, probably inadvertently, as *Kani*.<sup>14</sup> As our epigraph records the casket as the gift of Kanishka, and as the first word of line 2, which probably qualifies the name of the king, seems to have a genitive case-ending, we should have the same inflection after the name of the king. Thus the letters omitted by the scribe between *Kani* and *Kanishkapure* should be *shka* and *sa*. If this is so, the letters which are lost before *jasa* of the word preceding *Kani* (*shkasa*\*) can be considered to be *ma*, *ha*, and *ra*. The word in question should be then *maharajsa*, meaning 'of the great king'.

It is thus clear that the object of the gift is the casket itself, and not, as Konow thought, a mansion.<sup>15</sup> It has already been pointed out that the Chinese pilgrims, including Hsüan-tsang and Fa-hsien, refer to the erection of a big stūpa and a monastery by Kanishka outside the city of Purushapura, i.e. Peshawar.<sup>16</sup> Similarity between the description of the stūpa mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims and that of the one from which our casket has been discovered, as well as the Yüeh-chih royal personage on the casket and the appearance of the name *Kanishka* in line 2, has led scholars to guess that the casket had been a gift of Kanishka.<sup>17</sup> Our reading of line 2 and part of line 3 clearly proves this without the help of the evidence of the Chinese sources. Nevertheless, the latter records help us in determining the identification of King Kanishka of our epigraph. It is quite clear from the evidence of Fa-hsien as well as of Hsüan-tsang that the Kanishka mentioned by them as the builder of the great stūpa in the vicinity of Purushapura was Kanishka I. The topographical and other descriptions furnished by these travellers led A. Cunningham and A. Foucher to place Kanishka I's stūpa in the Shāh-jī-kī-dheri mounds even before the discovery of our casket therein.<sup>18</sup> These testimonies make it almost certain that the stūpa, from where the



casket is recovered, was erected by Kanishka I. Since our epigraph does not refer to any renovation of the stūpa or speak of replacing or repairing an original casket, it seems highly probable that it was deposited in the relic chamber at the time of the stūpa's original construction during the reign of Kanishka I. This then proves that Kanishka of our record should be Kanishka I. This conclusion is further supported by the fact that by the side of the relic chamber of the stūpa in question was found a copper coin of Kanishka I.<sup>19</sup> If the casket was enshrined for the first time in that chamber long after Kanishka I, we could expect to find a coin of some later king ruling at the time of the enshrinement.

Our reading of line 2 also shows that no date appears in the record. There is actually no basis for Konow's reading of *saṃ* (1) in the beginning of line 2. Our reading also refers to a city called Kanishkapura where the casket was dedicated. Since the casket seems to have been found *in situ* and in the vicinity of Peshawar, Kanishkapura must have been one of the old names of Purushapura or Peshawar. The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* ascribes to Kanishka, who may be Kanishka I, the credit of founding a city after his name.<sup>20</sup> Kanishkapura (= Peshawar) may have been this city.<sup>21</sup>

Line 3 is found on the body of the casket. It can be clearly read as *deyadharmme sarvasatma(tva)na hitasuhartha(m\*) bhavatu*. D. B. Spooner included *deyadharmo* [*sic*] as well as other portions of line 3 within one sentence. However, if our reading of line 2 is correct, *deyadharmme* should be a part of the sentence which also includes *ayam gamdhakaramde*. The remaining portions of line 3 may be translated, following Konow,<sup>22</sup> as 'may (it) be for the welfare and happiness of all beings'.

The first word of line 4, incised below line 3 and on the body of the casket, cannot be definitely read. D. B. Spooner<sup>23</sup> and S. Konow<sup>24</sup> read it as *dasa*. Though the second letter is probably *sa*, nothing can be made out of the first. Indeed, here we can have any word ending in *sa*. The rest of the line can be easily read as *agiśāla na(na)vakarmmi<sup>25</sup> nashkasa vihare Mahasenasa saṃgharame*. D. B. Spooner,<sup>26</sup> J. Marshall,<sup>27</sup> and S. Konow<sup>28</sup> took the word *agiśāla* as the Prakrit version of the Greek proper name Ἀγισίλαος. D. B. Spooner read *ka* in place of *a* after *nava-karmmi* and connected his *ka* to *nishka* [*sic*]. The same scholar translated the whole line as 'the slave Agesilaos, the superintendent of works at Kanishka's vihāra, in the saṃghārāma of Mahāsenā', and understood this portion of the epigraph as the signature of the officer in charge of the construction of Kanishka's vihāra.<sup>29</sup> S. Konow, on the other hand, divided the line into two separate parts, taking *dasa* [*sic*] *agiśāla na(na)vakarmmi* [*sic*] (meaning 'the slave Agiśāla is the architect') as a parenthetical addition. The same scholar also assumed the whole of line 3 starting after *deyadharme* [*sic*] as a parenthesis, and connected *deyadharme* [*sic*] with *(ka\*)ne(ne)shkasa* [*sic*] *vihare*, &c., of line 4. Thus Konow probably thought that the gift was given in Kanishka's vihāra, &c.<sup>30</sup>



Professor T. Burrow does not accept the above-mentioned interpretation of the term *agiśala*. He has pointed out that the natural interpretation of *agiśala* appearing in a Kharoshthī document is that it corresponds to Sanskrit *agniśālā* and Prakrit *aggisālā*, 'a hall of fire'. He draws our attention to a stone-lamp inscription found in the Swat Valley, where there is a reference to that lamp's being kept in the *agiśala* or the fire hall of the monastery. Burrow observes that *aggisālā* (i.e. *agiśala*), which the Pali Text Society's Dictionary renders as 'a heated hall or refectory', is mentioned as an established institution in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* (ii. 154, 210, &c.) and other works.<sup>31</sup>

Burrow accepts the reading *dasa*, but assumes it as a plural, and not as a nominative singular, and further interprets *navakarmika* [*sic*] as meaning 'renewer, repairer, or rebuilders'. The same scholar, who practically follows Spooner's reading of line 4,<sup>32</sup> then translates it as 'the slaves who rebuilt the *agniśālā* in the vihāra of Kanishka, in the monastery of Mahāsenā.' Burrow again suggests that if the casket contains a reference to the rebuilding of Kanishka's vihāra, surely long after the date of its consecration by Kanishka I, the date of the casket itself may well be placed something like a hundred years after that king.<sup>33</sup>

We have already offered our reading of line 4. The first word of the line ending in *sa* may be *dasa* (slave) or may even be a proper name. About the word *agiśala* we are bound to confess that Burrow's interpretation appears to be the most natural one, particularly when it is remembered that *agiśala* sometimes formed a part of a Buddhist monastery, and that our inscription was discovered in a Buddhist stūpa. However, we cannot accept Burrow's interpretation of the word *na(na)vakarmmia* (= *navakarmika*). If this word means 'rebuilder', it also means 'superintendent of new works', 'superintendent of the construction of an edifice', &c.<sup>34</sup> Further, Burrow's interpretation of this word and of the whole of line 4 tends to date the casket long after Kanishka I. However, we have already produced testimonies which show that the casket should be assigned to the reign of Kanishka I. Hence, we think that *navakarmmia* in our epigraph may mean 'superintendent of the construction of an edifice', but not 'rebuilder'.

After *na(na)vakarmmia* of line 4 occurs the phrase *nashkasa vihare Mahasenasa saṃgharame*. Since Hsüan-tsang refers to a monastery built by Kanishka (= Kanishka I) near his great stūpa, and since *nashkasa vihara* was obviously situated not far from the stūpa yielding our epigraph (i.e. Kanishka I's stūpa), we may see in *nashka* a reference to Kanishka (i.e. Kanishka I). The scribe probably inadvertently dropped the letter *Ka*. We do not definitely know whether Kanishka's vihāra was the same as Mahāsenā's saṃghārāma, or whether the latter was a larger establishment incorporating the former, or whether they were distinct institutions. However, we may offer a suggestion. Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang definitely indicate that in the locality where Kanishka's stūpa was erected



there was no Buddhist monument before its erection.<sup>35</sup> Hsüan-tsang also indicates that in the locality in question Kanishka (= Kanishka I) built only one monastery.<sup>36</sup> Hence this monastery should be the only one in the locality concerned at the time of the erection of the stūpa. And since the casket was enshrined in the stūpa at the time of its consecration, the epigraph on the casket could refer to only one monastery of that region. It may mean that the vihāra of Kanishka was called *Mahāsenā's saṅghārāma*.<sup>37</sup>

The fact that Hsüan-tsang clearly distinguished between Kanishka's stūpa and Kanishka's monastery should prove that D. B. Spooner was wrong in seeing in the expression *(ka)nishkasa [sic] vihare* a reference to Kanishka's stūpa's yielding the casket.<sup>38</sup> The same evidence also strikes at the root of Konow's interpretation of line 4, which indicates that the meritorious gift was given 'in Kanishka's vihāra, in Mahāsenā's saṅghārāma'.<sup>39</sup> The meritorious gift was obviously deposited where it was found, in the stūpa. The words *(Ka)nashkasa vihare*, &c., should then be connected with *sa agisāla na(na)vakarmma* of line 4 and not with *deyadharmme* of line 2. Line 4 then does not seem to be a part of the main body of the inscription, which records the gift of the casket deposited in the stūpa. This line may be taken as the signature of the person whose name appears in its beginning. The name of this person ends in *sa*. He was the superintendent of construction of the refectory<sup>40</sup> in Kanishka's vihāra (= Mahāsenā's saṅghārāma?).<sup>41</sup> Probably this person was also in charge of manufacturing the casket and of engraving the inscription. He left on the casket his name and official designation. Since Kanishka I may have built both the stūpa and the monastery almost simultaneously, a person in charge of construction of a part of the latter might be referred to as such in a document executed by him at the time of the erection of the former.

Thus the main portion of our epigraph ends in line 3. So line 1, which refers to the *Sarvāstivādin* teachers and obviously forms a part of the main body of the inscription, cannot be placed, as Konow appears to have placed it, after line 4. In fact, line 1 occurs on the upper surface of the lid, and so in an attempt to read the inscription from the top we must read this first.

In the light of above observations, we may now furnish the following reading and translation of the text.

## TEXT

### PART I

- L. 1 *Acharyana(na) Sarvastivadina pratigrahe*  
 L. 2 . . . *jasa Kani(shkasa\*) Kanishkapure nagrare ayam gamdhakaramde*  
 L. 3 *deyadharmme (II\*) Sarvasatma(tva)na hitasuhartha(m\*) bhavatu (II\*)*

## PART II

L. 4... *sa agisala na(na)vakarmmia (ka\*)nashkasa vihare Mahasenasa samgharame.*

Translation:

### PART I

In the acceptance (i.e. for the acceptance) of the Sarvāstivādin teachers, this perfume box is the meritorious gift of Mahārāja Kanishka in the city of Kanishkapura. May (it) be for the welfare and happiness of all beings.

### PART II

... *sa*, the superintendent of construction of the refectory in Kanishka's vihāra, in Mahāsena's saṃghārāma.

Our epigraph thus records the gift of the casket on which it is inscribed. King Kanishka made this gift in Kanishkapura (Peshawar). It may have contained the beads and some other objects found lying by its side.<sup>42</sup> The casket was deposited in the relic chamber at the time of the erection of the stūpa where it was later discovered.

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<sup>1</sup> *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1908-9, pp. 38 f.

<sup>2</sup> For a full description of the casket, see S. Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. ii, part i, p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> *ASI, AR*, 1908-9, pp. 51 f.; 1909-10, pp. 135 f.

<sup>4</sup> *CII*, vol. ii, part i, pp. 135 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1909, pp. 1056 f.

<sup>6</sup> N. G. Majumdar, *A List of Kharoshthi Inscriptions*, no. 60.

<sup>7</sup> *Indian Historical Quarterly*, xii, pp. 153-6.

<sup>8</sup> *Journal of Greater India Society*, vol. xi, no. 1, pp. 13-16. See also S. Parnavitana, *Indian Culture*, xv, pp. 129 f.

<sup>9</sup> *CII*, vol. ii, part i, pp. 135-6.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxix, pp. 152 f.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxxiii, pp. 165 f.

<sup>12</sup> Such a feature can be noticed in the Kaldarra inscription of the year 113 (*ibid.*, pl. xiii, no. 2) and in the Hastnagar inscription of the year 384 (*ibid.* pl. xxi, no. 10).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 136-7. D. B. Spooner first read only the name *Kanishka* in line 2 (*ASI, AR*, 1908-9, p. 51), but later expressed his inability to maintain that reading (*ibid.* 1909-10, p. 137).

<sup>14</sup> *JRAS*, 1924, pp. 400 f.

<sup>15</sup> *CII*, vol. ii, part i, p. 137.

<sup>16</sup> *Kao-seng fa-hsien chuan, Taisho Tripitaka*, vol. li, no. 2085, p. 858; *Hsi-yü-chi, Taisho Tripitaka*, vol. li, no. 2087, p. 879. See also *JRAS*, 1942, pp. 14-15.

<sup>17</sup> *ASI, AR*, 1908-9, pp. 50-51; *CII*, vol. ii, part i, p. 137; *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 1057-8.

<sup>18</sup> *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, tome i, 1901, pp. 329 f; *ASI, AR*, 1908-9, p. 39, n. 2.

<sup>19</sup> *ASI, AR*, 1908-9, p. 49.

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<sup>22</sup> *CII*, vol. ii, part i, pp. 136-7.

<sup>23</sup> *ASI, AR*, 1908-9, p. 51.

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## PART II

L. 4 . . . *sa agisāla na(na)vakarmmīa (ka\*)nashkasa vihare Mahāsenasa saṃgharame.*

Translation:

### PART I

In the acceptance (i.e. for the acceptance) of the Sarvāstivādin teachers, this perfume box is the meritorious gift of Mahārāja Kanishka in the city of Kanishkapura. May (it) be for the welfare and happiness of all beings.

### PART II

. . . *sa*, the superintendent of construction of the refectory in Kanishka's vihāra, in Mahāsenā's saṃghārāma.

Our epigraph thus records the gift of the casket on which it is inscribed. King Kanishka made this gift in Kanishkapura (Peshawar). It may have contained the beads and some other objects found lying by its side.<sup>12</sup> The casket was deposited in the relic chamber at the time of the erection of the stūpa where it was later discovered.

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- <sup>26</sup> *ASI, AR*, 1908-9, p. 52; 1909-10, p. 138.  
<sup>27</sup> *JRAS*, 1909, p. 1058, and n. 1.  
<sup>28</sup> *CII*, vol. ii, part i, p. 137.  
<sup>29</sup> *ASI, AR*, 1909-10, p. 138.  
<sup>30</sup> *CII*, vol. ii, part i, p. 137.  
<sup>31</sup> *JGIS*, vol. xi, no. 1, pp. 14-15.  
<sup>32</sup> T. Burrow reads *Kaneshka* instead of D. B. Spooner's *Kanishka*. The former also thinks that through haplography *navakarmi* [*sic*] *Kaneshka* [*sic*] has been written as *navakarm(ka)* *Kaneshka* (*ibid.*, pp. 15-16).  
<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.  
<sup>34</sup> M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 530.  
<sup>35</sup> Here we do not take into account the clay stūpa built by a boy which inspired Kanishka to erect his stūpa. This part of the story of Kanishka's stūpa appears to be legendary. For references, see n. 16.  
<sup>36</sup> See n. 16.  
<sup>37</sup> A Tun-huang manuscript mentions a saṅghārāma together with a stūpa as Kanishka-vihāra (*JRAS*, 1942, p. 21).  
<sup>38</sup> *ASI, AR*, 1909-10, p. 139.  
<sup>39</sup> *CII*, vol. ii, part i, p. 137.  
<sup>40</sup> S. Parnavitana has explained the term *navakarmi* [*sic*] as meaning a 'worker in metal' or an 'artificer' (*JC*, vol. xv, p. 233). However, this interpretation is unacceptable to us, since it is based on Ceylonese sources referable to periods much later than the date of the record in question.  
<sup>41</sup> H. K. Deb wanted to see in the name Mahāsena a reference to Huvishka (*IHQ*, vol. xii, pp. 153-6). This theory is not worth consideration, since the casket bearing the epigraph was deposited in the stūpa during the reign of Kanishka I.  
<sup>42</sup> *ASI, AR*, 1908-9, p. 49.

## THE RESTORATION OF THE RELIC CASKET FROM SHĀH-JĪ-KĪ-DHERĪ

THIS object was excavated in 1908 at Shāh-jī-kī-Dherī and was described by D. B. Spooner in a 'Report on the Archaeological Survey of India, 1908-9' which included photographs showing the appearance of the casket after it was first cleaned by the excavator. This present article will describe in detail the condition of the casket when it was received by the British Museum Research Laboratory and the method used in its restoration together with an account of certain technical features of the object.

### *The Condition of the Casket*

As a result of corrosion while the casket was buried, the lid had become firmly attached to the body of the casket by corrosion products. It was also found that the central seated Buddha on the lid had been forced down by a blow and lay at an angle. Also, as a result of this blow, an area in the centre of the lid was cracked and distorted and fragments of the metal were missing.

On either side of the Buddha were figures of Brahma and Indra, the bases of which had been drilled and tapped so that they were now fixed to the lid by small modern steel machine-made screws. Originally these figures had been secured to the lid with tenons riveted-over, but the report referred to above shows that they had become separated from the lid in antiquity. The tenons are now much too loose to be serviceable except as locating pins. However, the threads of the modern screws were very fine and they were no longer capable of holding the figures securely.

The circular grooved disk which had served as the base plate of the casket had been separated from the body of the casket. A small segment had been broken away and was in two fragments. This base plate could not have been cleaned by the excavator as was the case with the casket. It was still mineralized on both surfaces, areas of thin cuprite being present, and a considerable amount of internal corrosion was apparent in the surfaces exposed by the fracture. The grooved underside of the disk carried fragments of textile embedded in the cuprite. Around the perimeter of the inner side of the disk there was an annulus of grey material indicating the presence of a layer of soft solder which had been originally used for attaching the base plate to the body of the casket. There was no corresponding layer of solder on the mating surface of the bottom of the casket, which had, however, been well rubbed. It was clear, nevertheless, that the two portions had been made at the same time because, although neither mating surface was truly circular or flat, it was possible to find one position in which they fitted together exactly.

In addition to these two main components of the casket, there were three fragments of a halo which the excavator had reported as having been found near the foot of the casket. This halo was of a suitable size to fit the figure of the Buddha, but there was no indication of the manner in which it had been attached, nor, indeed, any evidence to suggest that it had ever been fitted in position.

### *Cleaning and Restoration*

A careful preliminary examination of the casket failed to reveal any trace of gilding, although the excavator had reported that it was 'almost certain to have been gilded originally'; nor was there any trace of inlay. This examination was a necessary prerequisite to treatment because the presence of either gilding or inlay would have restricted the choice of methods to be used in the subsequent cleaning. The bronze was considerably mineralized in a non-uniform manner, and parts of the inscription round the body of the casket were scarcely visible. In order to discover the true condition of the metal, the casket was physically cleaned with a glass-bristle brush to remove surface dirt. Still, no trace of gilding was exposed, but it became evident that much of the mineralized metal had been reconverted to metallic copper either as a result of conditions prevailing during burial, or, more probably, as a result of the method used in the original cleaning.

In order to stabilize the mineralized metal, some of which formed the shape of the decoration, the complex of casket and lid was submitted to cathodic reduction in dilute alkaline solution at a low current density.<sup>1</sup> Care was taken to ensure that none of the surface was shielded from the reaction by the accumulation of gas bubbles. After ten days of this treatment, this complex of casket and lid was washed in hot distilled water and treated in an ultra-sonic field at a frequency of 40 kc/s in order to remove loosened material. For the following two



months, the complex was subjected to the technique of intensive washing<sup>2</sup> until measurements of the electrical conductivity of the wash water indicated that the metal had been washed completely free from soluble salts. At intervals during this washing procedure, ultra-sonic treatment was applied to accelerate the process.<sup>3</sup> After one of these treatments, it was found that the lid had become loosened so that it was now possible to ease it gently away from the body of the casket. This delicate operation was an important stage in the restoration of the casket, and it was successfully achieved with the minimum of damage: in one area of the lid, where the metal was very thin and had already been distorted and had corroded on to the lip of the casket, two small fragments of bronze became detached. These were retained and subsequently refitted in position using a special epoxy synthetic resin (Araldite G.P.).

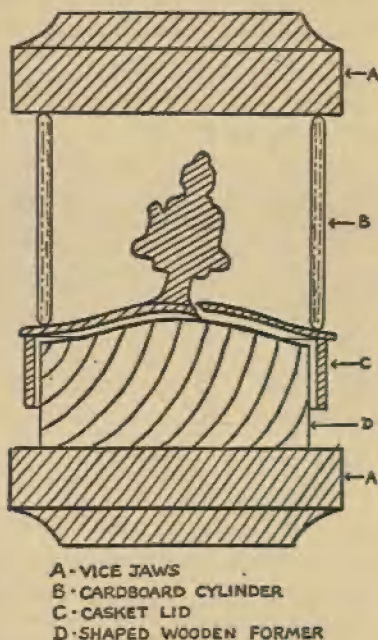
When the process of intensive washing had been completed, the casket and lid were thoroughly dried at 90° C. for 24 hours and then kept for several days at 25-40 per cent. relative humidity whilst the surface was being glass-brushed. This protracted period of drying was considered necessary because the surface was extremely porous and access of moisture had to be excluded before lacquering.

The next problem to be faced in the restoration was to devise a method of straightening the figure of the Buddha. One side of its base had been driven down into the inside of the lid as a result of a blow, and it was decided to reverse this process in order to repair the damage. For this purpose, a strong cardboard cylinder, 3 inches in diameter and of height greater than that of the figure of the Buddha was placed on the outside of the lid and a loose fitting wooden former was inserted inside the lid (as shown in the accompanying diagram) so that it could be pressed against the damaged area of the lid. By the application of a steadily increasing pressure by means of a large vice it was thus possible to bring the figure of the Buddha back into its original position perpendicular to the plane of the lid. The distorted metal of the lid in this area was then eased into place so that the cracks were closed. A fragment of the metal was reinserted and the area strengthened by cementing the cracks with an epoxy resin adhesive, a little copper powder being incorporated as a filler where necessary. The cracked surfaces had previously been thoroughly cleaned with a glass-bristle brush so that there would be no oxide present to impede the satisfactory joining of the surfaces. There was one small gap still left for which no fragment of metal was available. Finally, the new surfaces of the repair were toned down in colour to match the bronze and the casket was lacquered with a special cellulose nitrate lacquer.<sup>4</sup> This stage of the work was carried out in the laboratory workshop by Mr. B. A. Nimmo.

The two Bodhisattva were cleaned in a manner identical with that used for the casket and, after lacquering, were refitted to the lid with new brass screws.

The holes, already tapped in their bases, were retapped with a coarser thread in order to make a more secure fitting.

The final stage in the restoration was the cleaning of the base plate. The method used differed from that employed for the casket. The reason for this was that the under surface of the base plate had fragments of textile adhering to its mineralized surface which it was necessary to preserve *in situ*. These fragments had no strength of their own and would have lost their archaeological significance



if any attempt were made to consolidate them and remove them. Also, the ring of solder remaining on the inside of the plate might have been partly removed if the base plate were subjected to chemical treatment. In view of these considerations, together with the fact that the metal, although considerably mineralized, appeared to be reasonably stable, it was decided to restrict the treatment of the base plate to mechanical cleaning with a glass-bristle brush. In addition, the two loose fragments from the base plate were refitted with an epoxy resin. The plate was then thoroughly dried and lacquered and cemented to the casket with cellulose nitrate. This adhesive was chosen because it can be readily removed with acetone should it be desired to examine the remains of the solder on the plate at any future date. Similarly, treatment of the fragments of the halo was also restricted to glass brushing, after which the three fragments were joined with soft solder (using a non-corrosive flux), dried, and lacquered. The repaired halo was then fixed to the head of the Buddha with cellulose nitrate.



There was now only one thing that remained to be done and that was to devise a method for protecting the base plate. Since the base plate was slightly convex and weakened by corrosion, there was a risk that it might crack under the considerable weight of the casket applied to its centre, and there was also a risk that the fragments of textile might be rubbed off the bottom. For these reasons it was decided to make an annulus of thin Perspex which would fit the base plate and would raise the centre of the base plate several millimetres above any flat surface upon which the casket might be placed. The condition of the casket after restoration is shown in Plate xiv.

### *The Inscription*

As already noted, parts of the inscription were very difficult to read, and therefore a careful examination of the inscription was undertaken. The inscription had been punched into the metal in a series of faint dots, like the writing on the famous Taxila plate, but in several areas additional marks were present as a result of pitting-corrosion, and these tended to be confused with the dots of the inscription. When the inscription was examined at a magnification of  $20\times$  it was possible to distinguish between the dots which were clearly and unequivocally made by a punch and the marks due to corrosion pitting. The former were marked with a filling of white water-colour. By this means it was now possible to reveal several *aksharas* which had previously been masked by groups of corrosion pits (Pls. xv-xvii).

### *Technical Examination*

An analysis of the metal of the casket was given in the report already mentioned, so the present examination was carried out in order to obtain information about the techniques employed in the construction of the components of the casket. The results were as follows:

(i) *The Base Plate.* This was cast and the decorative rings then turned using a lathe. This is evident from the presence of chatter-marks from the tool which are visible on one of these rings. Another of the rings was deepened by means of a tracing tool and yet another was 'hatched' with a punch as enrichment. The plate was then hammered round its edge to make a close fit to the casket, the edge smoothed down and edged to the slightly eccentric contour of the body. The mating surface was then tinned, and the joint to the body made by soft-soldering.

(ii) *The Body of the Casket.* This was cast, the detail chased, and the inscription punched in. The inside was scraped clean in preparation for tinning before fitting the base plate. The lip, necessary to accept the lid, was turned approximately true and cut back to the right dimensions to accept the lid. Chatter-marks made by the tool are still visible.

(iii) *The Lid.* This was cast in one piece with the Buddha. The inside was left rough except for the rim, which was scraped down to fit the lip of the casket.

A setting-out circle was inscribed round the top of the lid but was not followed precisely when the decoration was traced. The inscription was punched and the details of the Buddha were traced. A flat was formed on the back of the head of the Buddha presumably to accept the halo but there was no trace remaining of soft solder or of any other means of fixing it.

(iv) *The Halo*. This was made simply by tracing on sheet metal. When received, the halo had a slightly golden sheen which might have been due to the presence of gilding at some time. A fragment was examined spectrographically and found to consist mainly of copper with small amounts of tin and lead and a trace of zinc. Gold was not detected. It was found impossible to locate the halo comfortably against the head in any plausible position. It must therefore be regarded as a matter of conjecture as to whether or not a halo was ever actually fitted in position.

(v) *The Supporting Figures of Brahma and Indra*. These supporting figures were separately cast, complete with halo, and riveted in position. The metal of which they are cast appears to differ somewhat in composition from that of the lid, for the figures of Brahma and Indra have withstood a similarly corrosive environment rather better than the lid.

R. M. ORGAN and A. E. WERNER

<sup>1</sup> See H. J. P. Plenderleith, *The Conservation of Antiquities & Works of Art*, Oxford University Press, 1956, pp. 199-6.

<sup>2</sup> R. M. Organ, *Museums Journal*, lv, p. 114 (1955).

<sup>3</sup> R. M. Organ, *Studies in Conservation*, iv, p. 35 (1959).

<sup>4</sup> Ercalene, obtainable from Messrs. W. Canning & Co., Ltd., Great Hampton Street, Birmingham 18, England.

## THE RESTORATION OF A BRONZE BOWMAN FROM JEBBA, NIGERIA

### I. HISTORY

THE Bowman of Jebba belongs to the most remarkable group of large bronze sculptures ever found in Africa, all of them from villages on the middle Niger within the territory of the Nupe tribe of Northern Nigeria.<sup>1</sup> Two of them (this figure and a somewhat larger figure of a nude woman) are kept in a small repository provided by the Federal Department of Antiquities on the island of Jebba Gungu, across which pass the railway and road which, since 1916, have linked Western and Northern Nigeria; seven (a very fine seated male figure of Ife origin,<sup>2</sup> a large standing male figure closely similar in style to the Bowman,<sup>3</sup> two smaller male figures, an elephant, and two ostriches or bustards) are at Tada, a somewhat inaccessible village twenty-five miles



downstream from Jebba; a tenth was found in 1960 at Giragi, another 100 miles downstream;<sup>4</sup> and finally (although unrecorded examples may well exist in other Nupe villages), a small figure of a woman in the British Museum,<sup>5</sup> purchased at Bida, the Nupe capital, early in the century, is thought to belong to this group. Together with many other, non-sculptural antiquities such as iron 'slave chains', bronze ceremonial weapons, &c., these bronzes are widely distributed among the Nupe villages on both sides of the Niger, and are the objects of cult as insignia of the divine kingship and of chieftainship deriving therefrom. According to a tradition which is well established among both peoples concerned, all these objects were carried up the Niger early in the sixteenth century by one Tsoede or Edegi, a bastard son of the Ata of Idah (king of the Igala tribe), who fled upstream into the Nupe country during a dynastic dispute and became the Etsu (king) and chief 'culture hero' of the Nupe tribe.<sup>6</sup> If, as seems probable, this story is founded on fact, then the bronze sculptures listed above may well have formed part of a group of large figures on a shrine for the royal ancestor cult in the palace at Idah.<sup>7</sup>

The problem of the origin of this group of bronzes (or more properly brasses) is among the most crucial in the study of Nigerian art history; its solution would undoubtedly throw light on the history of bronze-casting in the whole Lower Niger area, from the confluence with the Benue to the sea, an area from which many of the most imaginative of ancient Nigerian works of art appear to come.<sup>8</sup> Our knowledge of the development of bronze-casting at Benin City from about A.D. 1400 to the present time<sup>9</sup> is extensive and well documented in the thousands of works which survive; and we can deduce a good deal about the previous history of the art at the Yoruba city of Ife in the immediately preceding period (perhaps about the twelfth to fourteenth centuries), since it was from here, clearly, that it was transmitted to Benin. But it is clear that we must postulate at least one other great centre of bronze-casting in early times, to account for the Jebba and Tada bronzes, as well as for many others of the Lower Niger group; and the art of this other centre or centres may prove to be of greater artistic importance than the rather narrow naturalism of Ife and early Benin. It is natural for us to surmise that Idah may have been such a centre, but research carried out there has so far failed to establish that a bronze industry existed there.<sup>10</sup>

The two large bronzes of Jebba have been known since before the First World War<sup>11</sup> (and those of Tada since about 1921).<sup>12</sup> They were in good condition apart from the loss of the Bowman's hands (which presumably held his bow); but in 1940 or thereabouts a mentally unbalanced Moslem fanatic who lived in the village attacked them with a heavy axe or club and did the severe damage described in the following note (besides minor damage to the female figure). In 1950 my brother, Bernard Fagg (till recently Federal Director of Antiquities in Nigeria), and I met this man at Jebba; in reply to our questions he said that



the statues were pagan works of pre-Islamic Arabian origin, and that he had attempted to destroy them in the hope that they could be melted down to make pennies to help people to make the pilgrimage to Mecca.

WILLIAM FAGG

<sup>1</sup> These bronzes have been described and illustrated in *Man*, 1931, article 261, and 1934, article 193; in the *Burlington Magazine*, 1941, September and October issues; and in the *Illustrated London News*.

<sup>2</sup> See William Fagg, *Nigerian Images*, 1963, plate facing p. 16; Margaret Trowell, *Classical African Sculpture*, 1954, pl. xiv; or Leon Underwood, *Bronzes of West Africa*, 1949, pl. 21.

<sup>3</sup> See Underwood, *ibid.*, pl. 22.

<sup>4</sup> See the *Annual Report of the Federal Department of Antiquities*, Lagos, 1960.

<sup>5</sup> See *B.M.Q.* xvi (1951), pl. XLb; registration no. 1949. Af. 46. 178.

<sup>6</sup> The Nupe traditions, as well as much other information on the subject, are summarized by S. F. Nadel in *A Black Byzantium*, 1942, pp. 72-74, &c.

<sup>7</sup> Such large groups, sometimes of life size, are a frequent feature of the tribal cultures on both sides of the Lower Niger: in the Iwinrin Grove at Ife there was a group of nearly life-size terracotta figures in the style of the naturalistic bronzes, and therefore presumably dating from about the fourteenth century; many groups of mud figures, usually in honour of Olokun, god of salt water and

wealth, or of various river goddesses, are still maintained as shrines in parts of the Benin Kingdom (notably around Ugboko) and even in Benin City itself; and many examples in mud may be seen among the Ibo on both sides of the Niger. See Ulli Beier, *Nigerian Mud Sculpture*, 1963.

<sup>8</sup> See William Fagg, *Nigerian Images*, 1963, pls. 57-73 and pp. 39-40, where these bronzes are discussed under the provisional name of the Lower Niger Bronze Industry.

<sup>9</sup> See Fagg, *ibid.*, pp. 30-38 and pls. 11-56; and Philip Dark, *Benin Art*, 1960.

<sup>10</sup> However, Mr. J. S. Boston of the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research (and formerly Curator of the Nigerian Museum, Lagos), who has been pursuing valuable inquiries on this subject, tells me that certain family ties exist between Idah and Koton Karifi, a town of Igbara brassworkers on the Niger just above the confluence.

<sup>11</sup> See for example Mrs. Horace Tremlett, *With the Tin Gods*, 1915, frontispiece. Leo Frobenius photographed the figures in 1910-11, although I know of no reference to them in his published works.

<sup>12</sup> See *Man*, 1931, article 261.

## II. RESTORATION

This bronze hollow figure was about 93 cm. high, and the thickness of the metal varied between 1 mm. and 5 mm. The extent of the damage referred to above can be seen from Pl. XVIII. The effect of the damage was to squeeze the figure out of shape across its middle, so that the front and back walls were almost touching. The major lines of fracture occurred roughly horizontally, but followed in many places the outlines of the original 'burn-ins' (i.e. cast-in patches). These fractures were so extensive that the upper and lower halves of the figure were only held together at two places on the front. There were many smaller fractures in addition, as can be seen from the photographs. The base was also distorted and split.

An attempt was made to reshape the figure as it stood by inserting a length of  $\frac{1}{2}$ -inch-diameter threaded steel rod through a fissure and bolting to this a steel



former shaped to the anticipated final curvature of the body as ascertained by an examination of the undamaged part of the figure (see Fig. 1). Wooden packing pieces were then placed on suitably substantial undamaged areas on either side of the working area. A length of angle iron, with a hole drilled through it to accept the threaded rod, was laid across these wooden packing pieces, thereby forming a bridge-like construction. A nut was threaded on to the outside of the

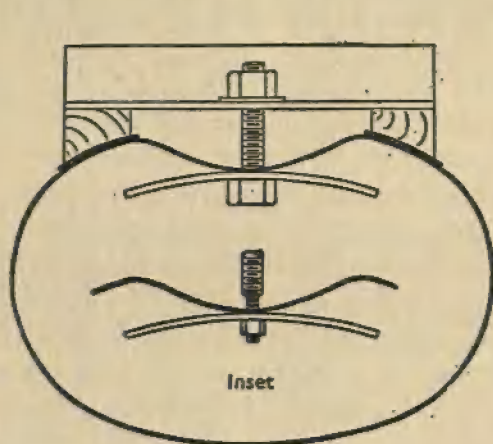


Fig. 1

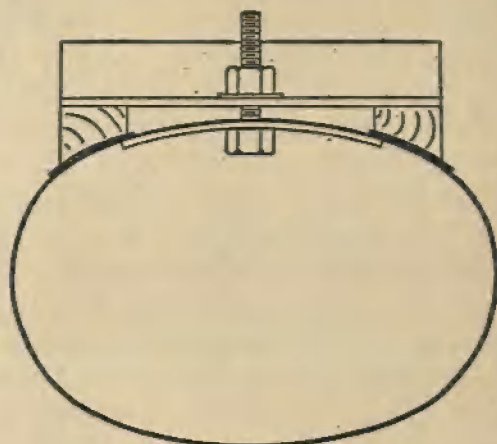


Fig. 2

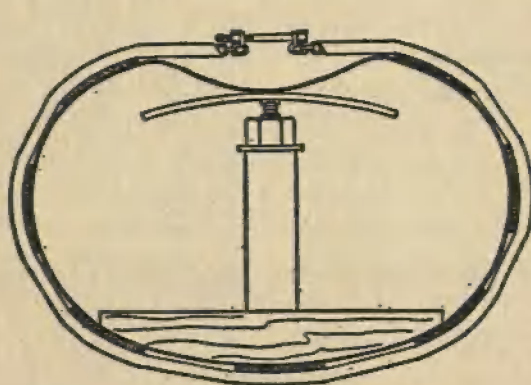


Fig. 3

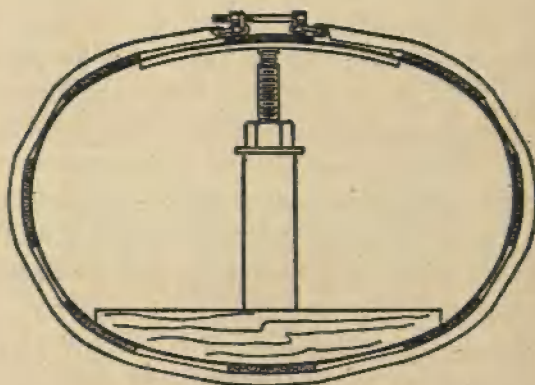


Fig. 4

rod and slowly tightened. By this means the bronze was slowly pulled out to roughly its original profile (see Fig. 2). This process was repeated elsewhere with formers of other shapes. However, the method could only be used where the fissures were big enough to permit the  $\frac{1}{2}$ -inch-diameter threaded rod to be inserted. For use in smaller fissures, the end of the threaded rod, for a distance of 1 inch, was turned down to  $\frac{1}{4}$ -inch diameter and threaded (see inset, Fig. 1).

Unfortunately it was not possible to use this method to restore the bronze completely to its original shape as many parts of the inside were inaccessible from the fissures. However, an examination of the two transverse fissures showed that if two vertical cuts were made, one about 7 cm. long and the other 3 cm. long, the reshaping of the figure could be carried out from the inside. Caution was still necessary because experiment indicated that the metal was so brittle that any hammering or sudden pressure might extend the fractures. The lower half of the torso was flame-annealed, but this did not make this particular metal appreciably less brittle. This meant that any further reshaping of the object could only be carried out by the careful application of progressively increasing pressure. Expanding jacks were, therefore, specially designed for this purpose. A  $\frac{1}{2}$ -inch-diameter threaded steel rod was placed in a suitable length of steel tubing so that it projected at one end (see Fig. 3). A nut was screwed on to this projecting length of rod and the jack thus constructed was placed inside the figure, using suitably shaped dollies or formers at each end. As the nuts were slowly turned, the threaded rods were prevented from rotating under the influence of frictional forces by spanners which fitted on to flats filed on each side. The rods emerged gradually from the tubes and pushed the walls of the figure back into position (see Fig. 4). However, it was at first found that this method of jacking, using the inside of the back as well as the front of the figure to obtain a purchase, sometimes tended to open up original 'burn-ins', or patches, at the sides which had seemed on superficial examination to be sound. This problem was overcome by covering a pair of steel chains with cloth and clamping them around the object, using pieces of felt as packing. The chains could be adjusted during the reshaping operation by means of a nut and bolt securing the terminal links, as shown in Figs. 3 and 4.

When the two halves had been successfully reshaped, they were then carefully fitted together and all joints and fractures brazed together using oxy-acetylene equipment, silicon bronze welding rods, and the appropriate flux. These repairs were then filed to shape and 'pitted' by a mechanical method in order to match surrounding areas.

The next problem was the restoration of the distorted base. This was first straightened, but it was then realized that some reinforcement was necessary because, as a result of splitting of the flanges at the edge, the metal was no longer strong enough to support the weight of the figure. In order to strengthen the base, lengths of  $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2}$ -inch brass bar were brazed together to fit inside it, and held in position by the application of a cold-setting epoxy resin, so that this modern reinforcement did not become an integral part of the structure, but could be removed at a later date if required. Owing to the irregularity of the inside edges of the original, a small gap was left, which was filled with a mineral loaded polyester resin in order to distribute the weight of the figure uniformly over the



reinforcement. It should be noted that the split in the base was not repaired, but was preserved as an historic record, because it had resulted from normal usage and did not occur at the time the damage referred to above had been done.

Finally, certain minor repairs were carried out. A number of plaited leather bindings represented in metal were missing from the torso. Electrotypes copies of existing bindings were made and soldered into their proper positions using silver-solder.

The calf area of the right leg of the figure was found to be fractured and pushed inwards. This was manually pushed out from the inside of the leg and brazed into position.

The small dagger handle had been pushed back against the body of the figure and had fractured at its base. This was removed, dowelled with brass rod, and fixed in its correct position by means of an epoxy resin adhesive.

When the restoration had been completed, the figure was cleaned and all repaired areas, which had a bright appearance, were toned down by applying a proprietary 'brown bronze' metal-colouring reagent and the area then stippled with pulverised rottenstone and powder colours so as to match the appearance of their immediate surroundings. The appearance of the figure after restoration can be seen from Pl. xix.

B. A. NIMMO and P. J. SMITH

## SHORTER NOTICES

*The publication of these shorter notices on recent acquisitions does not preclude a more detailed discussion of the objects in future issues*

### A CHINESE FOURTEENTH-CENTURY PAINTING OF A BUDDHIST SAINT

(Size:  $49\frac{1}{2} \times 24\frac{1}{4}$  inches)

THE cult of the Sixteen Arhats (Chinese: Lohan) was introduced into China in A.D. 654 when the great Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang translated a list giving their names from one of the Sanskrit texts which he had brought back from India. But it was not until the eighth century that this cult reached the north of China and it was not fully developed until the ninth century. From the ninth until

the fourteenth century a type of painting of the Sixteen Arhats, traditionally invented by the painter Kuan-hsiu (d. 916) enjoyed constant popularity. The Arhats were depicted as Indian monks; grotesque figures of westerners, that is Central Asiatics, with grim exaggerated features, craggy brows, and penetrating gaze. This impressive kind of Buddhist painting has not hitherto been represented in the Museum, but a painting dated 1345 (Pl. xx) has now been added to the collection and has been shown in the Gallery of Oriental Art. It depicts Ingada, the thirteenth Arhat, on a rocky seat, holding a peacock fan, and

with his heavy silk brocade monk's robe slipping from his shoulders as he looks fixedly in profound meditation. Painted on silk in the strong colours usual in these paintings, it is an exceedingly impressive religious picture. Like most of the surviving examples it has been preserved until recently in Japan. Other Arhats of this series are in the Freer Gallery, Washington,<sup>1</sup> the Metropolitan Museum, New York<sup>2</sup> and formerly in Japan<sup>3</sup>. The Museum painting has been acquired from the fund bequeathed by E. B. Brooke-Sewell.

<sup>1</sup> Four of the series, information from Mr. James Cahill.

<sup>2</sup> No. 47.18.103.

<sup>3</sup> *Kokka*, no. 337; O. Sirén, vii pl. 8.

## RECENT ACQUISITIONS BY THE DEPARTMENT OF WESTERN ASIATIC ANTIQUITIES

THE Department has recently acquired an interesting and important object from Iran, a heavy circular silver boss, partly gilded, with a lion's head mask in relief high. The lion's hair is engraved in spirals and his tongue protrudes, but the general expression is extremely gentle. This object might be from a shield or from a piece of furniture. No other similar object of the period is known, but on grounds of style it must be considered late Parthian or early Sassanian, second to third century A.D.

Another noteworthy acquisition is an important group of ivories which have been acquired from the British School of Archaeology in Iraq on the conclusion of their excavations at Fort Shalmaneser, Nimrud, the ancient Assyrian capital. In this fort, which was used as a storeroom, vast quantities of ivory furniture were found in previous campaigns, evidently carried off as booty or treasure during the Assyrian kings' campaigns in Western Syria and the Lebanon (Phoenicia)

during the ninth and tenth centuries B.C. These ivories are apparently parts of the decoration of furniture, and are in the Phoenician style. Some of the present group are of exceptional interest, showing extreme versatility of execution by the carving being heavily undercut; others are of much interest for the study of technique, being apparently trial pieces which are scored, inscribed, and lettered with fitters' marks, one bearing an unfinished sketch of an animal's leg.

## DRAWINGS BY RAPHAEL AND BRUEGEL

THE British Museum has recently acquired, with the aid of a special grant, two important drawings, a Raphael and a Pieter Bruegel the Elder. In the case of the Raphael, a generous contribution was also made by the National Art-Collections Fund.

The Raphael drawing is a pen-and-ink composition study for the picture of the *Entombment* painted for the church of S. Francesco in Perugia, and now hanging in the Borghese Gallery in Rome. The painting, dated 1507, when the artist was 24, is the most ambitious work that he had executed up to that date, and some idea of the thought and effort he devoted to it is provided by a dozen or so preparatory drawings, most of which are in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford and in the British Museum. On the back of the drawing are studies of corpses wrapped in winding sheets, evidence of Raphael's preoccupation with reality under Florentine influence.

There can be no doubt that the significance of the newly acquired drawing is enhanced by the possibility of seeing it alongside another composition study of about the same size and in the same medium which has been in the British Museum for over a century: comparison of the two drawings provides a



fascinating series of points of similarity and difference and gives us an excellent opportunity of watching a great artist making his way towards his goal.

Until recently the drawing was in the possession of the Rothwell family of Tiverton in Devon, to which it passed by inheritance about 100 years ago. Its importance was first suspected by a friend of the family, Mr. Peter Hutton and by his father Mr. Edward Hutton, who brought it to the notice of the British Museum. There it was recognized as being an important missing Raphael drawing known to students through an engraving made when it was in the possession of the eminent French collector Pierre Crozat (1665-1740). Later it belonged to the cele-

brated English connoisseur, the poet Samuel Rogers.

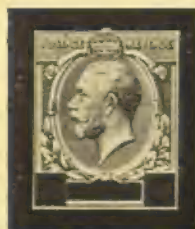
The drawing by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *An Alpine Landscape with a River*, came to light only very recently and is undoubtedly one of the finest drawings by him in existence. It is an important addition to the Department's small but select group of works by this artist. Its interest is enhanced by the fact that it is only the second known preparatory drawing for the series of landscapes engraved by Hieronymus Cock after drawings made by Bruegel on his visit to Italy early in his career.

(This drawing was discussed in detail in the *Burlington Magazine*, cv (1963) p. 560, fig. 45.)



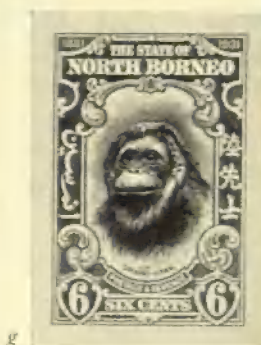
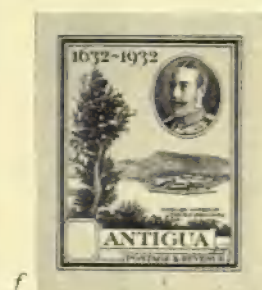
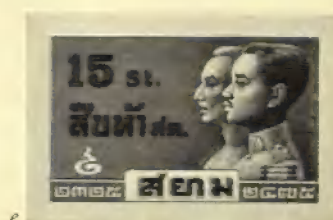






I. DIE PROOFS OF POSTAGE STAMPS FROM THE HARRISON COLLECTION





II. (a-i) DIE PROOFS OF POSTAGE STAMPS FROM THE HARRISON COLLECTION  
(j) MR. HARRISON AT WORK



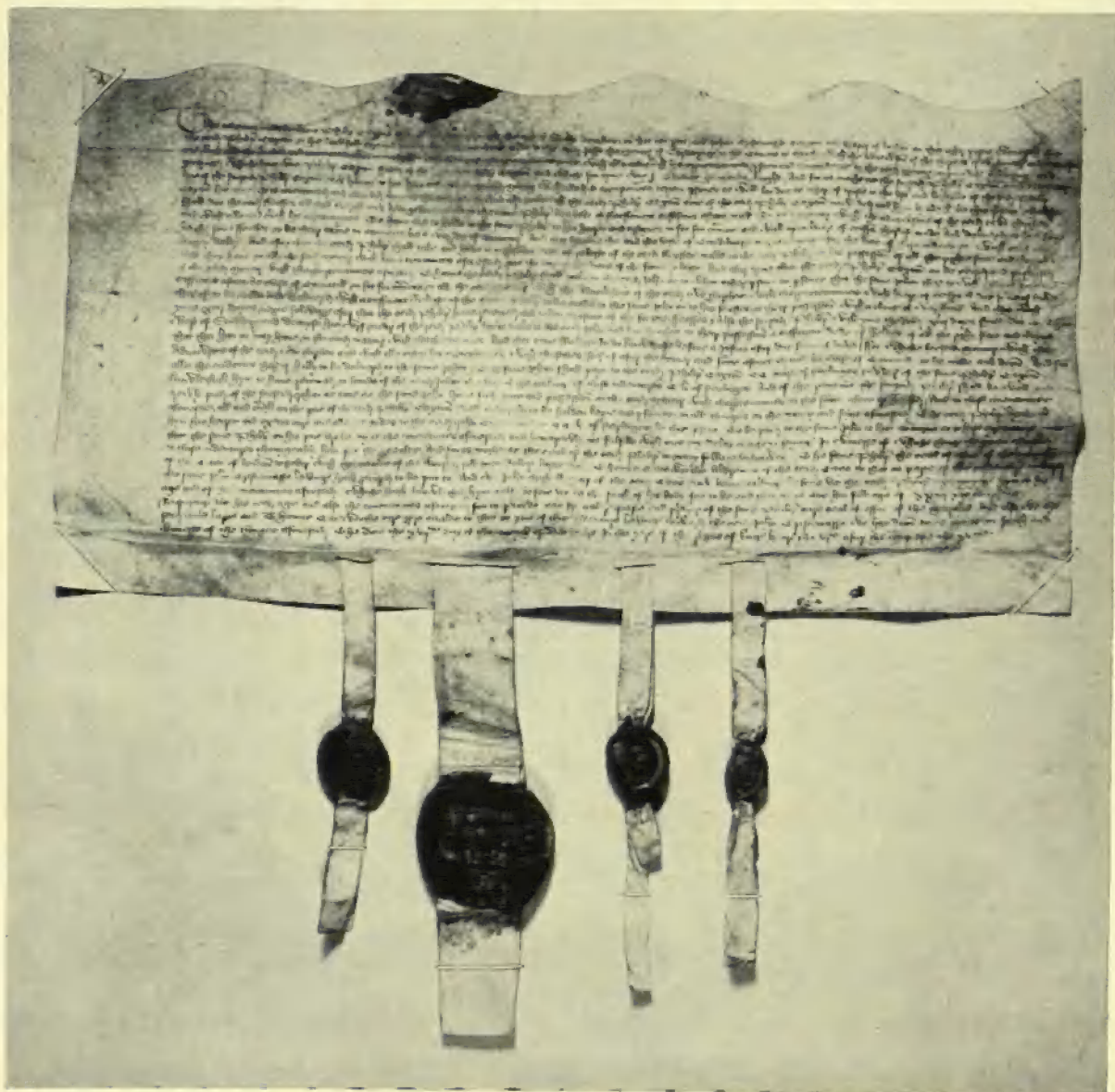
*There was an Old Man of Vienna,  
Who lived upon tincture of senna ;*

*When that did not agree,*

*He took camomile tea,*

*THAT Nasty Old Man of Vienna.*





IV. SALE OF THE MANOR OF WRATTING, BY PHILIP CAXTON, 1436  
(Add. ch. 75507)

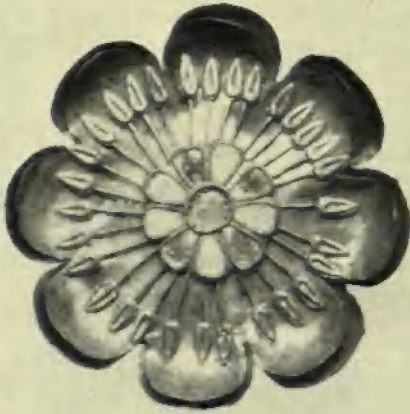






VI. A COPPER PITCHER, MINOAN OR MYCENAEAN

*a*



*b*



*c*



*d*



VII. FOUR GREEK ROSETTES

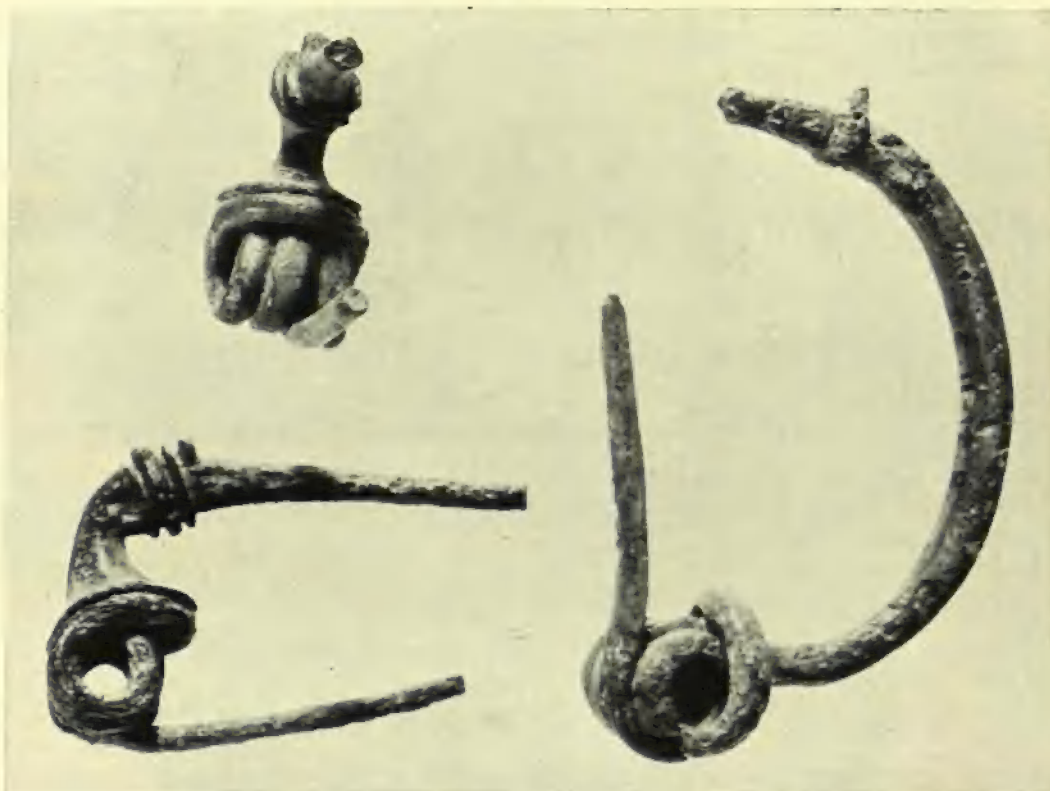




VIII. THE AYLESFORD BRONZE-PLATED SITULA (reconstructed) present height to rim 10 inches



(a)



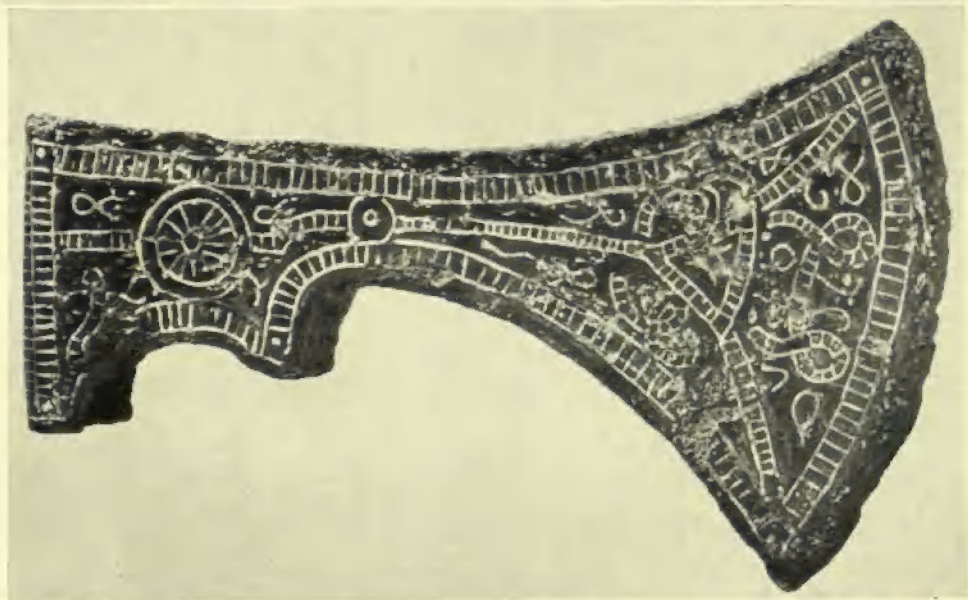
(b)

IX. (a) THE AYLESFORD BRONZE JUG AND PATELLA  
 (b) THE AYLESFORD BROOCHES (sizes 1 inch, 1½ inch, 2 inches)





X. THE AYLESFORD HANDLED-TANKARD, restored, height about 8 inches



XI. A FRANKISH AXE-HEAD FROM NEUWIEDER BECKEN, GERMANY





XII. LINGODBHAVA-  
MURTI, AN EARLY  
COLA. About 900 A.D.

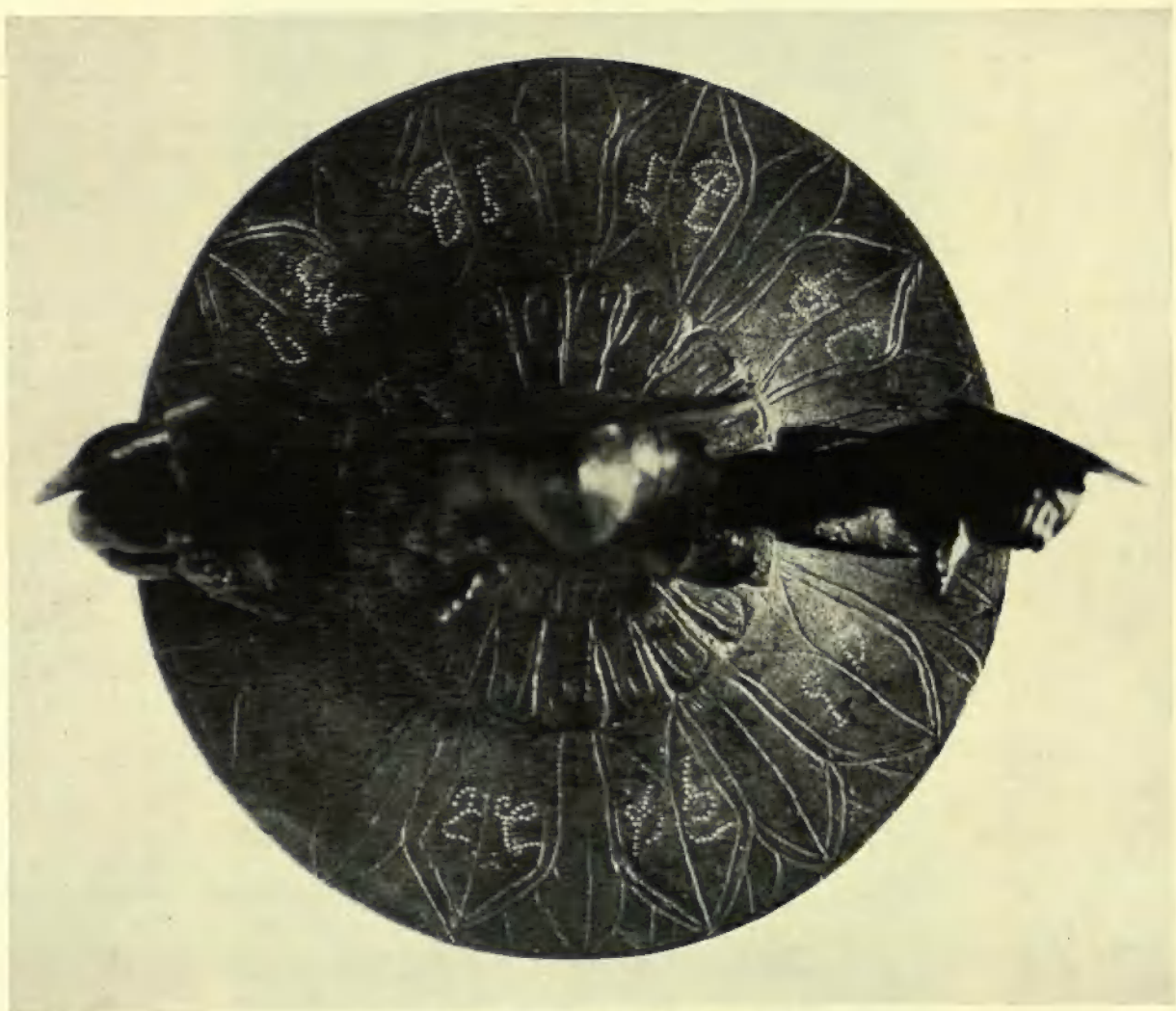


XIII. LINGODBHAVAMURTI, SVARGA BRAHMĀ TEMPLE, ALAMPUR. Early 8th century A.D.





XIV. BRONZE RELIC CASKET FROM SHĀH-JĪ-KĪ-DHERĪ, WESTERN PAKISTAN



XV. BRONZE RELIC CASKET





XVI. BRONZE RELIC CASKET

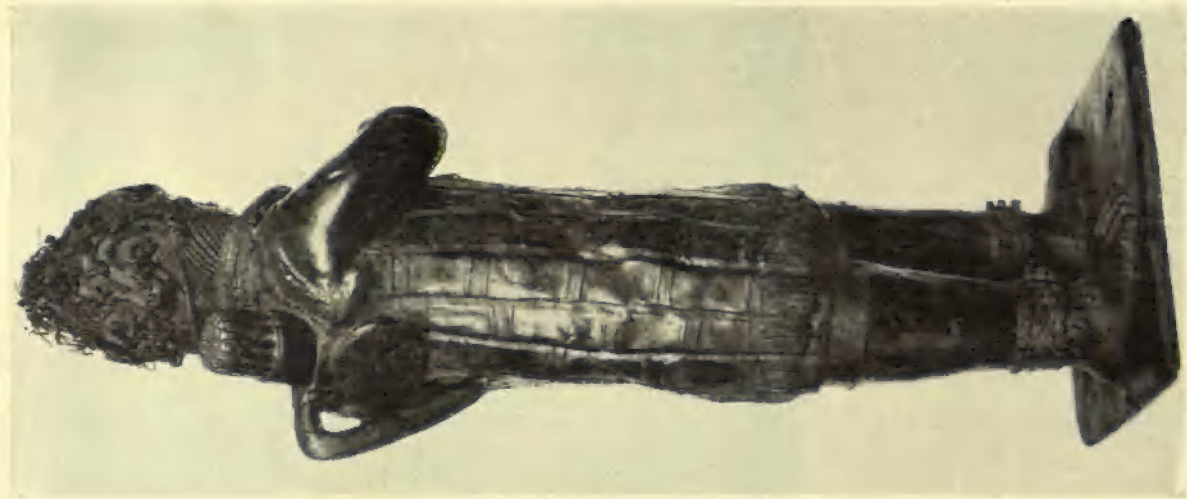


XVII. BRONZE RELIC CASKET





XVIII. A BRONZE BOWMAN FROM JEBBA, NIGERIA. Before restoration



XIX. A BRONZE BOWMAN FROM JEBBA, NIGERIA. After restoration





XX. A CHINESE PAINTING OF  
INGADA, THE THIRTEENTH  
ARHAT, ON A ROCKY SEAT,  
HOLDING A PEACOCK FAN  
(dated 1345,  $49\frac{1}{2} \times 24\frac{3}{4}$  inches)

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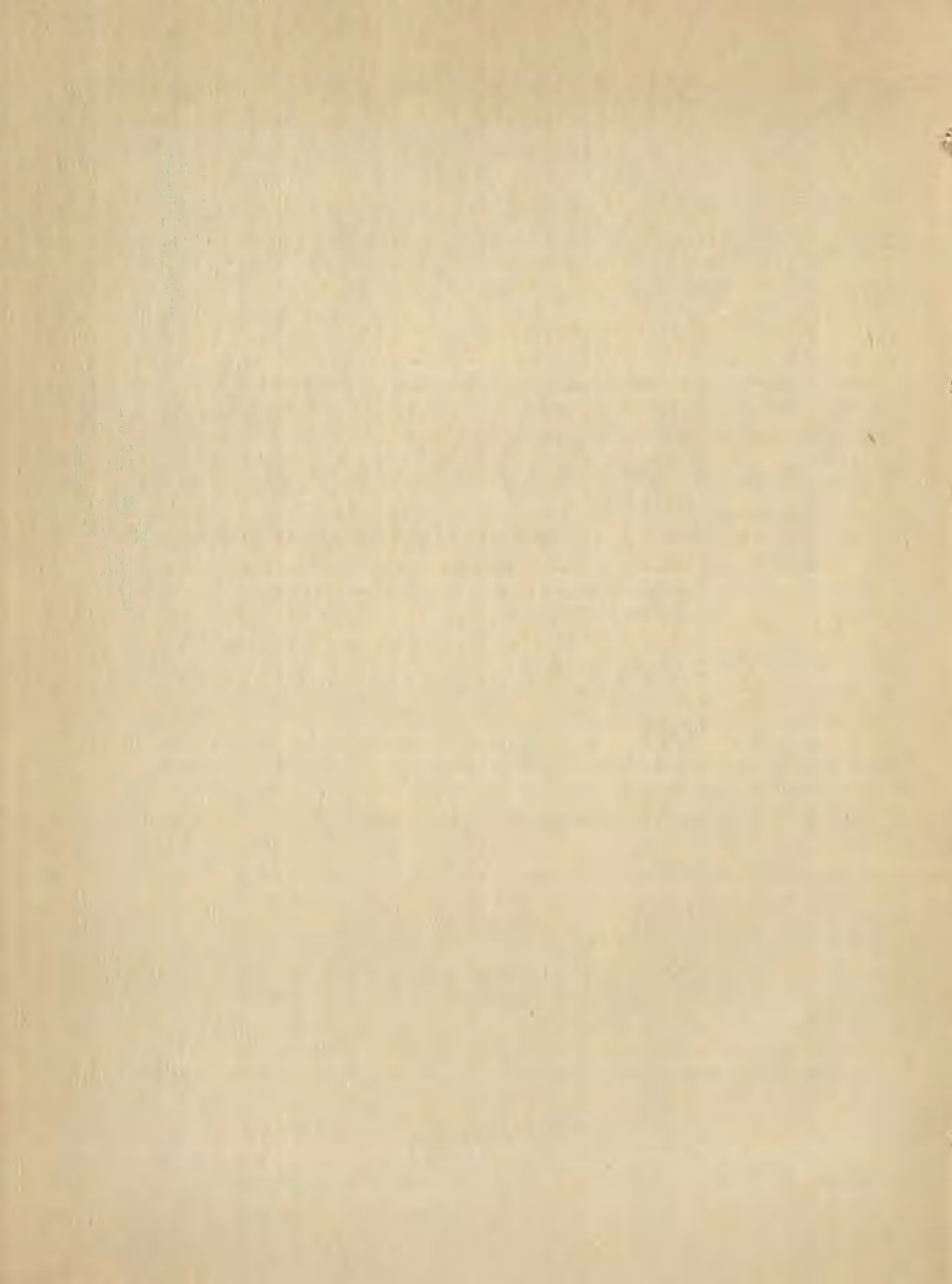


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*c* Fragment of the foot of the vase
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- XXXI. Marble figure of Rishi





## THE CRUM PAPERS

IN February 1941, only a few weeks before his death on May 18, Walter Ewing Crum presented to the Department of Manuscripts a large collection of letters (now Add. MS. 45681-90) written to him over a period of fifty years on Coptic studies in general and, in particular, in connexion with his great *Coptic Dictionary*, which appeared in six parts between 1929 and 1939. The gift was a very welcome one for several reasons: as evidence of the correspondence of an outstanding scholar in a field whose implications far surpass the boundaries of pure philology; as affording examples of the autographs of many distinguished persons; and as a quarry for the historian of culture. It is this last aspect which will be discussed in this article. Essentially, these letters are concerned with scholarship and occasionally, when they begin to touch upon matters which appeared to Crum to be too personal, the offending passage has been excised. Nevertheless, enough remains to present the historian with a rich fund of material from which to re-create the atmosphere of a section of the world of humane studies in the first half of the twentieth century, and to present a picture of a *Kulturgemeinschaft* which not even the first World War swept away, but which was to be tragically shaken by the rise of German National Socialism which, at the time of Crum's death, had effectively broken down the old liberal order in which he had been reared.

Crum's greatness as a Coptic scholar need not be laboured. It is sufficient to quote the appreciation of the late Professor Georg Steindorff, who first started Crum in the study which he was later to make his own: 'As a Coptic scholar Crum is *sui generis*; he is equalled in this respect only by the late Carl Schmidt, who surpassed him in theological knowledge but in all else was inferior to him.'<sup>1</sup> This judgment of 1952 was anticipated as early as 1905 by Adolf Erman, Crum's teacher and one of his closest friends: 'He started from the study of Old Egyptian, applied himself to Coptic in the widest sense and, for this purpose, has been occupied for years with theological and patristic literature and, finally, by his publication of Coptic papyri and ostraka, he has shown himself familiar with this difficult field as well. Crum is therefore competent, as no one else is, to produce the Coptic dictionary which scholarship so badly needs, and we can only hope that he will be permitted to carry out this great work and to publish it.'<sup>2</sup>

It was this breadth of scholarship which makes Crum's letters so fascinating, even to the reader who is not an orientalist. Church historians, Byzantinists, and liturgiologists appear in his correspondence almost as often as philologists. To



speak only of those of British origin, we find church historians like Abbot Cuthbert Butler,<sup>3</sup> Abbot John Chapman,<sup>4</sup> and H. M. Gwatkin;<sup>5</sup> Byzantinists like N. H. Baynes;<sup>6</sup> and liturgiologists like Edmund Bishop<sup>7</sup> (who assured Crum: 'It is just people who have been trained in EXACT METHODS of study, in other matters, whom it is most desirable to attract to the study of Liturgy. If we trust the professionals, the clergy, above all the clergy "who profess and call themselves" Catholics, of any communion, I fear the case is hopeless'<sup>8</sup>) and F. E. Brightman.<sup>9</sup> Reminiscences of Victorian Oxford, which recall the great days of Balliol dominance, are found in communications to Crum from Benjamin Jowett and A. L. Smith. Jowett's contribution consists of two invitations to dinner, written on tiny scraps of paper, such as one hardly imagines any head of an Oxford college sending to an undergraduate at the present day, the first of which invites Crum to dine 'and meet Mr. Ruskin'.<sup>10</sup> A. L. Smith, referring in a letter of 9 September 1888 to some difficulty Crum had experienced, delivered himself of the somewhat cynical observation: 'As to delay in the Library, no man nor woman either shall convince me that *any* Continental official (except, they say, the King of Italy) will decline a tip of one napoleon.'<sup>11</sup>

Outstanding among the English Coptic scholars with whom Crum corresponded was his great friend, Sir Herbert Thompson, who was to be counted among the three or four leading Coptacists of his generation and, after the death of F. L. Griffiths in 1934, supreme in the field of demotic studies.<sup>12</sup> Another Coptacist, who resembled Crum in the range of his abilities, was the youthful Charles Allberry.<sup>13</sup> Allberry was a creature of rare brilliance. 'Er ist ein glänzender Gelehrter und ein liebenswürdiger Mensch',<sup>14</sup> was the opinion of the German orientalist H. H. Schaeder in a note to Crum in 1939, and the verdict is justified. With the appearance of his edition of the Chester Beatty Coptic Manichaean Psalm Book in 1938, when he was only twenty-five, and the masterly survey of Manichaean studies which appeared in the *Journal of Theological Studies* in the same year, Allberry established himself as an orientalist of the first rank. Nor were his talents confined to the Coptic language and Manichaean literature alone, for he was a fine classic, wrote and spoke German with ease, and was endowed with an enviable ability as a cricketer.<sup>15</sup> If he had lived he would undoubtedly have occupied an outstanding place in British Egyptological studies, and his death in action in 1943, at the age of thirty, when engaged in flying operations over Germany, must be reckoned one of the most grievous losses sustained by British scholarship in the second World War.<sup>16</sup>

Allberry's character is reflected in his letters to Crum. So far as Coptic studies are concerned, he writes with perfect self-confidence, combined with the deference suitable to a man in his early twenties when addressing a world-famous scholar. 'Please don't call me Mr. A. unless you wish to,' he wrote in a letter of 15 January 1936. 'It makes me feel so grown up and *settled*.'<sup>17</sup> Crum in his reply



must have suggested some sort of reciprocal arrangement, for in his next letter Allberry began: 'Thanks for your kind letter. But I do not think I should drop the Mr. before your name.'<sup>18</sup> Similarly, when replying on 11 July 1938 to Crum's congratulations on the appearance of the *Manichaean Psalm Book*, he wrote: 'Thank you for your charming letter and the blush-making things you say. I am delighted my book has reached you safely at last, to whom directly or indirectly I owe so much. I look forward to sending you the sister volume in a few years.'<sup>19</sup> This last hope was never, unhappily, realised.

By far the largest single group of letters in these papers is Crum's correspondence with Adolf Erman, under whom he had studied in Berlin in 1890 and who became one of his closest friends. Johann Peter Adolf Erman (1854-1937), Director of the Egyptian Department of the Berlin Museum and Professor of Egyptology at the University from 1884 to 1923, ranks among the greatest Egyptologists—one of those men who, by their work, give a new orientation to a discipline.<sup>20</sup> Of Erman Crum wrote that 'in his pupils he took a paternal interest and with most of them maintained an intimate and undeviating friendship throughout life' and this was particularly true in the case of Crum. From Erman's first letter, dated 3 April 1889, announcing that he would be willing to take Crum as a pupil<sup>21</sup> to that of his widow announcing his death on 28 June 1937,<sup>22</sup> the whole correspondence reveals a steadily increasing affection, in which Erman comes habitually to address Crum as 'Lieber Freund', or 'Liebster Freund'. Even during the first World War, Crum and Erman continued to communicate through Thomas Cook & Sons at Geneva, and the hostilities between their two countries had no effect upon their relationship.

Erman's life, in his later years at least, was not a happy one, and in a certain measure epitomises the fate of a German humanist scholar of the twentieth century. His eldest son was killed in action in 1916 and Erman never wholly recovered from the blow. During his last years, his eyesight failed, a loss to which his letters written after 1934 bear mute and pathetic witness—disordered pencil scribbles by a man who could not see the page on which he was writing and, towards the end, letters written by his wife at his dictation. Finally, the Nazi régime affected Erman personally. In his obituary notice, Crum referred to this with deliberate restraint: 'By tradition and upbringing a convinced conservative, how should he appreciate the new order in a world which pays but small heed to any of the interests that had been his for half a century?'<sup>23</sup> But this was only part of the story. Erman, indeed, had no sympathy with Hitler and his régime. 'You ask', he wrote in a letter of 5 July 1932, 'whether I am a National Socialist or, as we say, Nazi. I am most certainly not, and I am hardly aware of any seriously informed person who is',<sup>24</sup> though he recognized in Nazism a powerful movement of youthful protest against the miseries and humiliations of the post-1919 epoch.<sup>25</sup> A month later Erman was taking a cheerful view of the



German political scene. 'You ask about Hitler—yes, he's really on the decline and his increased raving is clearly a symptom of his insecurity.'<sup>26</sup> An unlucky diagnosis; but the fortunes of the Nazi party were in a very delicate state in the later months of 1932, and the most experienced political observer could hardly have foreseen how Hitler would be jobbed into power on 30 January 1933, as part of the squalid manœuvrings of Schleicher and Papen. Erman was quick to perceive the significance of Hitler's *Machtübernahme*. 'Now we are fortunate enough', he wrote with a bitter irony on 31st January, 'to have reached the stage of being ruled, as from yesterday, by a demagogue and an ignorant mob. We should never have believed this would happen. One always counts on human reason, and that is an inadequate defence.'<sup>27</sup> He sustained himself by quoting a line from Homer: 'Endure, my heart, you once endured worse than this' (*Od.* xx. 18), but the Nazi triumph was to affect him in a tragically personal way. Erman was descended from a Swiss Protestant family, which had emigrated to Berlin in the eighteenth century, but his grandmother was Jewish and her descendant was therefore in Nazi eyes a non-Aryan. Nazi anti-Semitism differed from earlier anti-Semitic movements, not only in scope and ferocity, but also in outlook: Judaism was determined, not by cult or ethos, but by blood. The fact that Erman's grandmother had been baptized in 1802—a consideration which, in Tsarist Russia, would have saved her and her descendants—meant nothing to the exponents of Nazi *Rassenkunde*, and in May 1934 Erman was ejected from Berlin University.<sup>28</sup> In a dignified letter to the Rector of the University, of which he sent a copy to Crum, the old scholar answered the Rector's announcement that no exceptions could be made in the policy of expulsions.

I must thank Your Magnificence [he wrote] for your kind answer to my letter of May 23rd. It was certainly not intended to ask that an exception should be made in my own case, but only to establish if I were involved. Your Magnificence's letter has clarified the issue for me, and since I am accustomed, in the traditions of my family, to observe the constituted law, I shall seek no sort of exception for myself. Nevertheless, Your Magnificence will understand that I cannot regard my work at our University of more than fifty years as harmful, and you will understand furthermore that I also regard my 'non-Aryan' ancestors and kinsmen with the same love as the 'Aryan'. These also played their part in scholarship, in art, in the services and in the administration, and they have sacrificed their lives for Germany at Lützen, at Königsgrätz, at Gravelotte, at Kaunas and on the Somme, without any thought that one day someone would doubt their German origins.

May I request Your Magnificence to place this letter on record, in consideration of the three generations of my family who, since 1810, have had the good fortune to work at the University of Berlin?<sup>29</sup>

The pathos of Erman's declining years is well summed up in a letter to Crum of 10 November 1935. 'Dearest old friend, your letter of 25 October expressed what we old people in all countries feel. The time is really *peu favorable aux*



*études*. And the evil is only this: that we old men cannot forbear continuing to cultivate the *études* instead of concerning ourselves in politics.'<sup>30</sup>

Erman died on 26 June 1937 and was spared the sight of the progress of Hitler's régime, the outbreak of the second World War, and the steadily mounting campaign against the Jews, which was to culminate in the *Endlösung*, the 'final solution' of the Jewish question, planned by Reinhard Heydrich and presided over by Adolf Eichmann and his associates. Indeed, he might himself have perished in the gas-chambers of Treblinka or Auschwitz, and in this sense may be deemed fortunate in the date of his death. He represented a tradition of what Mr. Alan Bullock has called the 'liberal bourgeois order'<sup>31</sup> of Europe of the years between 1789 and 1939, which Hitler made it his business to destroy. It was characteristic of Erman that the last words he was heard to speak were some lines of Horace.<sup>32</sup> It was also symbolic.

Erman is exceptional among Crum's correspondents, both in respect of the number of his letters and in their personal nature. In the collection as a whole, as has already been said, the academic element predominates; the primary purpose of the writers is to give or receive information. Nevertheless, as might be expected, many of the letters reveal glimpses of the writers, even when they are concerned with Egyptological matters. Thus we find Battiscombe Gunn,<sup>33</sup> as an Assistant Keeper at the Egyptian Museum at Cairo and much pressed by Crum's importunity with regard to certain photographs he had ordered, writing tartly: 'The fact that, in spite of my request, you continue to address complaints to me personally, enables me to answer your letter personally; I regret that through pressure of work at home and in the Museum I have had to delay doing so till now.'<sup>34</sup> Gunn's acerbity, which was probably justified, contrasts with the gentle amiability of Dom André Wilmart.<sup>35</sup> 'Cher M. Crum,' wrote the great Benedictine scholar, 'vous êtes très aimable d'avoir pensé à me demander le renseignement dont vous avez besoin. Je serai toujours heureux de pouvoir vous rendre des services de ce genre.'<sup>36</sup> Another group of letters, those of Hugh Gerard Evelyn White, recall and illuminate the tragic suicide of a gifted and many-sided scholar. Evelyn White distinguished himself as a classical scholar, archaeologist, and Egyptologist,<sup>37</sup> and might well have had an outstanding career. Unhappily, he had the misfortune to excite passionate love in a young woman, which he felt unable to return. Driven to desperation, the girl committed suicide. Although he had behaved quite correctly in the affair, Evelyn White was deeply affected by the suicide and by a sense of the disgrace which he believed had been brought upon his family. Accordingly, he shot himself in a taxi on 9 September 1924, while on his way to the inquest. In the course of his archaeological work in Nitria, White had been able to acquire and take to Cairo a considerable number of Coptic manuscripts from monastic libraries. It was reported in a press account of his suicide<sup>38</sup> that he had come to believe that he was the



victim of a curse uttered against anyone who should remove the manuscripts from their resting-place, and this is confirmed by an undated letter to Crum, written probably towards the end of August.

Things are no better, rather worse and likely to be worse. I shall never again laugh at the threats written in those MSS.: they have got me all right, and it seems likely they have not done with me yet. I had leave from the Abbot to carry those MS. leaves to Cairo, remember that, but the other monks told me it would be on my head, and so it has proved.<sup>39</sup>

It is a far cry from Evelyn White, doomed as he thought by a ritual curse, to Adolf Erman, the victim of an outlook no more enlightened than that of the Coptic monks who anathematised the prospective robber of their libraries, but it is difficult, in reading Crum's letters, not to feel the shadows lengthening as we descend into the Nazi epoch. Particularly distasteful are the apologists for Hitler's régime, like the Austrian art historian, Josef Strzygowski. Strzygowski welcomed the *Anschluss*. His attitude is explicable in view of his distaste for the Catholic collectivist régime of Dollfuss and Schuschnigg, where civil marriage was not recognized and his wife could not hope for any widow's pension, since she had not been married by Catholic rites, but his enthusiasm, which became almost lyrical, is nauseous in the extreme. 'Come and see for yourself', he urged Crum, everything has become cheaper and better and above all people no longer go about oppressed, but upright and with shining eyes. And our youth! It's a joy to see, how yesterday 40,000 children in uniform—our Hanne too—marched past the *Rathaus* and celebrated the ideal of joint national federation. . . . Dear friend, for us Austrians Hitler is not only *Führer* but no less than saviour.<sup>40</sup>

Crum's reaction to this stirring appeal is not known (unless the fact that this letter is the last but one from Strzygowski in the collection is any indication) but it is easy to believe that it may well have resembled that of E. M. Butler, later Schröder Professor of German at Cambridge, on a visit to Germany in 1936. A band of Hitler Maidens 'as ugly as they come' disturbed her peace, when she was drinking coffee in the charming square at Königstein, by singing Nazi songs. Then 'a strapping young man came roaring into the square on a deafening motor-cycle, jumped off, joined in the song and then turning to us, exclaimed triumphantly: "There you have the new Germany; and what do you think of it?" "Not much," we said, and left him mouthing the name of Hitler.'<sup>41</sup> Crum's emotions are likely to have been 'not much' as reports reached him of the worsening conditions in Germany, and he can hardly have been edified by enthusiastic letters from Charles Allberry who, perhaps with a desire to tease, so commended the Nazi system that Crum came to believe that Allberry had decided to seek German naturalization—a suggestion which the latter repudiated vehemently, with protestations of his loyalty to England.<sup>42</sup> Perhaps the final comment on Nazi Germany comes in one of the last letters of the collection,



dated 28 February 1940, from Georg Steindorff, once Crum's instructor in Germany and later an exile at Ann Arbor, Michigan. 'And the war—who can prophesy? We must only heartily wish that the Allies will win. Certainly, only a *strong* victor can exterminate the plague of Nazism. And before he arises, a long time can pass.'<sup>43</sup> A long time indeed, and Crum did not live to see the outcome.

The Crum Papers are, first and foremost, the working correspondence of a scholar and their primary interest is to the orientalist and to the historian of Coptic studies. To discuss them in this particular context is beyond the powers of the present writer, who can only acknowledge his insufficiency with regret. However, just as Crum himself was no mere philologist, but embraced in the sweep of his studies church history, theology, and early Christian culture, so his papers have a wider interest than their immediate subject and this is, no doubt, the reason why he presented them to the Museum, while depositing his notebooks and papers in the Griffith Institute at Oxford.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, Crum's life work as a scholar spanned a period in the history of European scholarship and of the European social order. When he began his Egyptian studies, the structure of Victorian Europe was still unshaken. Erman at Berlin was 'the master of nearly every aspiring young student of Egyptology in his generation',<sup>45</sup> Mommsen was still living, and the first edition of Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte* had not long appeared. When Crum died, in May 1941, the German armies were massing on the eastern frontiers of Europe for Operation Barbarossa, the lightning campaign designed to bring Soviet Russia crashing to the ground which, in the event, brought half Europe under her control. In the meantime, scholarship had not stood still; but it was tending in all departments to become more specialized, and the age of the giants was no more. Moreover, as Erman and other German scholars had found, there was a spirit abroad which would not tolerate the atmosphere of free enquiry in the realms of scholarship which they had regarded as being unshakeably established. The evil folly of 'German' science and scholarship expounded by the Nazi theorists—to be paralleled at a later date in Stalin's Russia by doctrinaire materialist theories—marked the end of a phase in the history of European scholarship in which the disinterested pursuit of knowledge was taken for granted.

To this episode in the cultural history the Crum Papers bear impressive witness, and it is against a background of deteriorating political conditions in which many of his friends were tragically involved that Crum's work must be judged. He himself was often discouraged, and turned to his friends for support. As early as 1926, when Crum had been expressing doubts as to his capacity to undertake his *Dictionary*, Sir Herbert Thompson wrote: 'You are a dyspeptic and highly nervous subject (excuse my frankness): but—I say it seriously—such people are nearly always long-lived, and your chances are as good or better than most people's.'<sup>46</sup> Thompson judged aright. Crum succeeded, and brought his



work triumphantly to an end. In 1905, when his *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum* appeared, Erman, ever the classical scholar, did not hesitate to apply to it the Horatian tag: 'a monument more enduring than brass'.<sup>47</sup> The phrase can even more fittingly be used of the *Coptic Dictionary*. To the understanding of the nature of Crum's achievement, both in terms of learning and of the human element, the Crum Papers make an outstanding contribution.

GERALD BONNER

<sup>1</sup> *Walter Ewing Crum* by Battiscombe Gunn and H. I. Bell (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. xxxiv, 1952), p. 289.

<sup>2</sup> Add. MS. 45683, fol. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Edward Joseph Aloysius Cuthbert Butler (1858-1934), Abbot of Downside Abbey. Add. MS. 45682, fols. 41-44.

<sup>4</sup> Henry Palmer John Chapman (1865-1933), Abbot of Downside Abbey. Add. MS. 45682, fols. 96-97.

<sup>5</sup> Harry Melvill Gwatkin (1844-1916), Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Cambridge. Add. MS. 45684, fols. 232-233b.

<sup>6</sup> Norman Hepburn Baynes (1877-1961), Roman historian and Byzantinist. Add. MS. 45681, fols. 74-75.

<sup>7</sup> Edmund Bishop (1846-1917), liturgical scholar and historian.

<sup>8</sup> Add. MS. 45681, fols. 127-127b.

<sup>9</sup> Frank Edward Brightman (1856-1932), Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Add. MS. 45681, fols. 169-179b.

<sup>10</sup> Add. MS. 45685, fol. 387.

<sup>11</sup> Add. MS. 45688, fols. 57-58.

<sup>12</sup> Sir Henry Francis Herbert Thompson, 2nd Bart. (1859-1944). Add. MS. 45689, fols. 39-126b.

<sup>13</sup> Charles Robert Cecil Austin Allberry (1913-43), Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, and Lady Budge Scholar.

<sup>14</sup> Add. MS. 45687, fol. 186. Allberry was collaborating with Schaeder in 1938 on the Greek text of Titus of Bostra for the *Kirchen-väterkommission*. See Add. MS. 45681, fol. 50.

<sup>15</sup> See his obituary, *The Times*, 11 May 1943, and Allberry's own testimony: 'Rightly do you dislike my Coptic cursive [a reference to an experiment on fol. 20b]. I am in grand cricket form, by the way, having scored 300 runs with an average of nearly 50. The manuscript seems to have had no bad effect on my eye' (Add. MS. 45681, fol. 23b).

<sup>16</sup> 'The character of Roy Calvert in C. P. Snow's

novels *The Light and the Dark* and *The Masters* is apparently based on Allberry.

<sup>17</sup> Add. MS. 45681, fol. 32b.

<sup>18</sup> fol. 33.

<sup>19</sup> fol. 50.

<sup>20</sup> See the remarks of Crum in his obituary of Erman in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xxiii (1937), p. 81: 'Those of us who recall the conditions ruling in pre-Erman days—vagueness in the grammars, chaos in the dictionaries—cannot overestimate the revolutionary effect of his work.... The most notable of Erman's investigations, that which gave a new orientation to the entire subject, was his demonstration of a primitive relationship between Egyptian and the Semitic languages.'

<sup>21</sup> Add. MS. 45683, fol. 1.

<sup>22</sup> Fol. 315.

<sup>23</sup> Crum, *J.E.A.* xxiii. 82.

<sup>24</sup> Add. MS. 45683, fol. 235.

<sup>25</sup> Fols. 235-235b.

<sup>26</sup> Fol. 237.

<sup>27</sup> Fol. 243.

<sup>28</sup> Letter of 15 May 1934: 'Ich habe das Bedürfnis etwas mit Ihnen zu reden, denn mein Herz ist etwas voll. Nach dem neuesten Erlaß des Herrn Ministers ist mir der weitere Besuch der Fakultätsitzungen untersagt, da meine Großmutter erst 1802 getauft worden ist. Ich bin also "nicht-arisch".' Add. MS. 45683, fol. 257.

<sup>29</sup> Fols. 258, 259.

<sup>30</sup> Fol. 292.

<sup>31</sup> Alan Bullock, *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny*, 2nd ed. (Penguin Books), 1962, p. 808.

<sup>32</sup> Crum, *J.E.A.* xxiii. 82.

<sup>33</sup> Battiscombe Gunn (1883-1950), Professor of Egyptology at Oxford, 1934.

<sup>34</sup> Add. MS. 45684, fol. 228.

<sup>35</sup> André Wilmart, O.S.B. (1876-1941), textual scholar and historian.

<sup>36</sup> Add. MS. 45690, fol. 82.

<sup>37</sup> See the obituary by Crum, *J.E.A.* x (1921), pp. 331-2.

<sup>38</sup> *The News of the World*, 14 Sept. 1924. Cutting in Add. MS. 45690, fol. 68.

<sup>39</sup> Add. MS. 45690, fol. 63.

<sup>40</sup> Add. MS. 45688, fol. 296.

<sup>41</sup> E. M. Butler, *Paper Boats*, 1959, pp. 150-1.

<sup>42</sup> Add. MS. 45681, fol. 56; cf. fol. 58.

<sup>43</sup> Add. MS. 45688, fol. 256. The writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Miss Jane Hodgson, of the University of Sheffield, for advice in preparing translations of the German

documents cited in the text.

<sup>44</sup> A letter from the Ashmolean Museum relating to this gift is Add. MS. 45687, fol. 29.

<sup>45</sup> H. E. Winlock, *Year Book of Am. Philos. Soc.*, 1944, p. 354 cited in Gunn and Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

<sup>46</sup> Add. MS. 45689, fol. 90.

<sup>47</sup> Add. MS. 45683, fol. 27.

## THE RUTLAND BOUGHTON COLLECTION

A LARGE collection of autograph music manuscripts of the late Rutland Boughton, who died in January 1960 at the age of eighty-two, has been generously presented by A. R. Boughton, Esq., and the late Joy Boughton, son and daughter of the composer. Shortly after this gift the Department of Manuscripts was glad to take the opportunity of purchasing the original full score of 'The Immortal Hour', Boughton's best-known work. By courtesy of Messrs. John Curwen & Sons Ltd., and of Galliard Ltd., the autograph full scores of 'Alkestis' and 'The Queen of Cornwall', which had been in their possession, have also been added to the collection. The range and importance of the manuscripts (now numbered Add. MSS. 50960-51012) are indicated by the summary list printed as an appendix to this article. They include most, but not all, of the works described as extant in manuscript in the list of compositions given in Michael Hurd's recent biography of the composer, *Immortal Hour*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962,<sup>1</sup> as well as scores of a number of the published works.

Few of the present generation are aware of the details of Boughton's remarkable career or the extent of his achievement. From an early age he showed a single-minded devotion to music but his only technical training was a brief period of study at the Royal College of Music in 1899-1901, financed, at the suggestion of Sir Charles Stanford, by a member of the Rothschild family after Boughton had spent five years as an office boy in a London concert agency. Years of struggling, doing musical 'fringe' jobs, journalism, accompanying, theatre-pit playing on the harmonium, and, finally, teaching music (at which he was remarkably gifted), never produced a sufficient income in a way which would leave him as much leisure for composition as he wished. Yet he found the energy to compose a vast number of works, music-dramas, symphonies, concertos, chamber music, and smaller vocal works of every description, to organize the Glastonbury Festivals of Music and the school associated with them, and to make a large number of friends in musical, literary, and political circles. The remarkable London success of 'The Immortal Hour' is what most people remember but Boughton thought more highly of other works, particularly his huge cycle



of music-dramas based on the legend of King Arthur. In his later years Boughton lived on a small-holding at Kilcot in Gloucestershire: thus he, at least, fulfilled the other part of his original plan for Glastonbury, that the artists should live by farming. In 1938 he was awarded a Civil List pension for his services to music.

Boughton's most important achievement lies in his music-dramas. He developed his very personal ideas of music-drama early in his career; even as a schoolboy he had commenced a cycle of works on the life of Christ. While working at the Midland Institute at Birmingham from 1905 to 1911, a fruitful period of preparation for him when he discovered his gifts for teaching and gained useful experience in conducting, he met Reginald Buckley, a journalist and poet, whose talents and ideas were complementary to his own. Together they worked on a plan for English music-drama which led, after years of searching for financial support, to the establishment of the Glastonbury Festivals. Their idea was 'to found somewhere in England a Festival Theatre after the plan of the Wagner Theatre at Bayreuth, for the performance of musical and dramatic works based on British legend'.<sup>2</sup> Boughton, himself, wished to create a colony of artists sharing a communal life in the country and earning their livelihood by farming, but this part of the scheme never proved practicable. Their views were first published in 1911 in *The Music-Drama of the Future*, which also included a libretto by Buckley of 'Uther and Igraine', later known as 'The Birth of Arthur'; the music to this music-drama had been composed by Boughton in 1908-9 and was the first of his immense cycle on the legend of King Arthur at which he worked intermittently for nearly forty years. While admitting that Wagner of all composers most clearly expressed 'religious perception' Boughton went on to say 'but the Wagnerian drama lacks just that channel of musical expression which is absolutely necessary to the English people—the channel of the chorus'.<sup>3</sup> This defect he remedied in his own works, where the chorus plays a very important part, both commenting on the thoughts and actions of the characters and portraying mood. Buckley's libretti contained lyrical passages which another composer might have found an embarrassment, and, indeed, the libretto of 'Uther and Igraine' had been rejected by Elgar and Granville Bantock, who had suggested Boughton as an alternative. For Boughton such passages were a welcome opportunity to try out his theories and he set them as choral interludes to convey atmosphere (see Pl. xxi). The chorus was sometimes required to act as dancing or 'living' scenery as well, for Boughton's early music-dramas were developed at the same time as the interest in eurhythmics and free dancing associated with Émile Jaques-Dalcroze and Raymond Duncan. This latter aspect of Boughton's method proved controversial. At its most naïve the 'living' scenery was seen in an excerpt from 'The Birth of Arthur' first performed at a summer school in Bournemouth in August 1913 where the ladies of the chorus



mimed the movement of waves beating on Tintagel Castle, which was represented by four strong men; some critics found the effect ludicrous. Others were more perceptive. The *Musical Times* reporter, at a later performance in August 1914, during the first Glastonbury Festival, said that the symbolic use of the chorus was 'undeniably effective, and is sure of a much wider application with the passage of time',<sup>4</sup> while Edward Dent, writing in August 1915, 'thought the choral scenery very successful, even as it was'.<sup>5</sup> A particularly interesting feature of the vocal score of 'The Birth of Arthur', now in the British Museum, is the pencilled instructions for the dance movements of the chorus in this scene of Act II, 'castle forward', 'billowing movement', 'hands up to squares', and so on. The dancing scenery effects were also used in the Lake Scene of 'The Round Table', the second in Boughton's series of Arthurian music-dramas, which was first produced at Glastonbury in August 1916, and in some productions of 'The Immortal Hour', where the published vocal score of 1920 mentions a continual ballet of tree spirits during the first scene. The first performance of 'The Immortal Hour' at Glastonbury in August 1914 was accompanied by dance effects arranged by pupils of Margaret Morris, herself a pupil of Raymond Duncan, with whom Boughton worked in close collaboration at Glastonbury. Productions of the work away from Glastonbury seem to have had various stagings; after a performance at Bournemouth in January 1915 Boughton was commended by the *Musical Times* critic for his use of the chorus 'as a valuable and important element in the unfolding of the story' although it was noticed that Boughton had 'dispensed for the time being with the "living" or "dancing scenery" which obtains so much prominence in his Arthurian music-drama'.<sup>6</sup>

'The Immortal Hour' is, of course, the work by which Boughton is remembered today, chiefly because of the enormous success of the London production by Barry Jackson in 1922-3. Boughton, himself, had viewed this production with misgivings; he thought the work unsuited to a sophisticated audience, and, in fact, its London success was due not so much to his achievement in conveying the strange atmosphere of Fiona Macleod's Celtic play, but to a superficial sentimental appeal which satisfied the escapist mood of the post-war years. Gwen Ffrangcon-Davies's 'fey' portrayal of Etain caught on; the 'Etain look' became fashionable and the 'Faery Song' was played at society weddings. For Boughton the work was spoiled; he had regarded it as the work which had done most to spread the ideas of Glastonbury<sup>7</sup> and possibly the productions there, crude though they may have been in some aspects,<sup>8</sup> were the best suited to Boughton's strange masterpiece. Its unity of atmosphere probably derives from the composer's intensive study of Hebridean folksong, which he absorbed from Marjory Kennedy Fraser's first collection, published in 1909; little of the melodic line in 'The Immortal Hour' strays from the pentatonic scale. Certainly the work is full of memorable tunes, not only the ubiquitous 'Faery Song'. Etain's own song,



'Fair is the moonlight', is one of the most hauntingly beautiful ever written by Boughton.

The significance of the collection of manuscripts presented to the British Museum lies in the unique opportunity offered for studying Boughton's music-drama as a whole. It includes manuscripts (in many cases both vocal and full scores) of the entire vast Arthurian cycle, none of which has been published, chiefly owing to Boughton's refusal to publish any section of the work without committing the publisher to accepting further instalments. Perhaps Boughton over-estimated the appeal of the Arthurian legends as the subject of so large a work, although, in another context, the success of T. H. White's epic series of novels on *The Matter of Britain*<sup>9</sup> has shown the attraction of an individual approach to these legends. Boughton's attitude to the cycle changed considerably with time. In a pamphlet printed shortly after the completion of the cycle in 1945 he said:<sup>10</sup>

During the last twelve years, following the suggestion of Bernard Shaw, I have made my own librettos, and enjoyed the experience of allowing the characters to develop the drama in their own way; and my later years have, I hope, given me something of the understanding necessary for the expression of the characters in *their* later years. For these dramas are not legendary but topical.

Of the complete cycle, consisting of 'The Birth of Arthur', 'The Round Table', 'The Lily Maid', 'Galahad', and 'Avalon', Boughton wrote:

The first of the above has a certain musical and dramatic relation to the others as prologue, but it was written before I had had practical experience of the stage. It is the four later works that constitute the essential cycle; they are inter-connected both musically and dramatically.

Boughton's hopes for a performance of the cycle in its entirety during his lifetime were never fulfilled; indeed 'Galahad' and 'Avalon', the last two parts of the work, have never been performed.

The full score of 'The Immortal Hour' is of the greatest interest. It bears a dedication to his second wife, Christina Walshe, an artist who contributed much to the success of Glastonbury by her skilful stage designs and costumes, and has a number of conducting marks, presumably relating to early productions, since the work was published in full score in 1923, having been accepted in 1918 as the first work for publication by the Carnegie Trust in their English series. Of the other music-dramas, 'Alkestis', Boughton's experiment in setting Greek drama, for which his use of the chorus was admirably suited, was published in vocal score by Goodwin & Tabb in 1923 after its successful production at the 1922 Glastonbury Festival of Greek Music and Drama: the British Museum now has not only the autograph vocal score but the unpublished autograph full scores of both the original version, as performed at Covent Garden in January 1924 by the British National Opera Company, and the revised version (by courtesy of Messrs.



John Curwen & Sons Ltd.) for a somewhat larger, and more conventional, orchestra, made by Boughton, possibly at George Bernard Shaw's suggestion,<sup>11</sup> before the work went on tour. Boughton's setting of Thomas Hardy's Mummers' Play 'The Queen of Cornwall' was published in vocal score by Joseph Williams Ltd. in 1921. Musically, this was one of Boughton's best works and the storm choruses which open and close the drama are fine examples of Boughton's choral writing; the British Museum now has the autograph manuscript vocal score, containing early drafts, corrections, and stage directions, and the unpublished full score. Vocal and full scores of 'The Ever Young', Boughton's second drama on a Celtic theme, which was produced with considerable financial loss at the Bath Festival of September 1935 and has never been published, are also included in the collections. Shaw, a close friend of Boughton for many years, considered the work a masterpiece 'in spite of your ridiculous bits of string', but thought it naïve in its portrayal of ugliness: 'Mozart would have made a musical staircase like the leaning tower of Pisa out of it.'<sup>12</sup> By chance two letters of Boughton answering Shaw's criticisms are to be found in the British Museum.<sup>13</sup> His second letter, of 7 October 1935, is so characteristic that it seems worth quoting extensively:

Your bits-of-string criticism has been much in my mind; but I can't get hold of it. Every joint in the sections of *The Ever Young* is constructed of thematic material. May it not be that you didn't get it all the first time?

Your image of a leaning tower of Pisa constructed by Mozart to suggest a man falling downstairs gives perhaps a clue to a misunderstanding of what I aim at. Mozart found an art-form in which the music was external to the drama. He played with it, & divine genius that he was, grew more & more interested in the humanity of his puppets, so that finally (esp. in *Magic Flute*) he worked from within his own heart outwards instead of continuing the operatic method of dressing up the dolls & occasionally pricking their sawdust limbs in the hope of finding blood.

But the *real* music-drama didn't happen till Beethoven's third symphony. From then onwards the external operatic method became more & more ridiculous, though even in Wagner it could not always [be] avoided (rainbows, anvils, etc) because the human mind is beckoned by such external things which then take a symbolic inner emotional quality.

Now I know that I haven't Mozart's exquisite workmanship, nor Beethoven's grim driving power, nor Wagner's sensuality, and that is a pity. But what I am I am, and practically all my work (certainly all *The Ever Young*) moves from within outwards. Its unpleasant noises are the result of unpleasant things happening in the hearts of—the audience—though I hope such emotional discords were resolved as the piece moved forward. I've plenty of evidence from members of the audience. . . .

Of the remaining part of the collection there is less to say. 'Bethlehem', a setting of the Coventry Nativity Play, interspersed with old English carols and tunes from Boughton's own Arthurian cycle, was a favourite with amateur performers



for whom it was written; the full score in the Museum has a few performing markings of interest not included in the published full score. The instrumental works, with few exceptions, are less successful. The first oboe concerto written for the composer's daughter, Joy Boughton, achieved a certain popularity before the war; the first movement has a fine lilting melody, the third is effective writing for the oboe, whilst the slow movement was greeted with enthusiasm at a performance by Leon Goossens in Salzburg in 1937; the second oboe concerto and the trumpet concerto are unpublished. Three unpublished symphonies, symphonic poems, and smaller orchestral works, also mainly unpublished, and two unpublished string quartets are the most important of the instrumental works now preserved in the Museum. Boughton's talents did not lie in abstract music and it is noticeable that in his two string quartets, one 'based on Greek Folk Songs', the other entitled 'From the Welsh Hills', he still retains a programme for his music. The merits of the string quartets have perhaps been overshadowed by the hostile reception which greeted their first London performance, provoked by Boughton himself, who announced the concert as unsuitable for 'Highbrows and Deadheads' and refused press tickets to music critics.<sup>14</sup> The collection is completed by the original manuscripts of some of the published sets of songs and a number of unpublished songs.

Whatever may be thought of Boughton's musical theories, his political views (for his social sympathies led him to support the Communist party for a considerable period of his life),<sup>15</sup> or his prejudices and enthusiasms, the lasting value of his work is due to his undoubted gift for melodic invention. This may not be of a strikingly original kind—on hearing many of Boughton's tunes one is left with the impression that one has known them always, indeed the music he composed for 'Bethlehem' was often mistaken for traditional music, once even by Vaughan Williams.<sup>16</sup> His tunes remain fresh; even the 'Faery Song', despite the vulgarized manner in which it is sometimes performed, retains a certain elusive quality.

P. J. WILLETTS

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to this work for much of the biographical information in this article.

<sup>2</sup> Rutland Boughton, *The Glastonbury Festival Movement*, 1922, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Rutland Boughton, *Music-Drama of the Future*, 1911, p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> *Musical Times*, 1 Oct. 1914, p. 625.

<sup>5</sup> Michael Hurd, *Immortal Hour*, p. 55.

<sup>6</sup> *Musical Times*, 1 Feb. 1915, p. 107.

<sup>7</sup> Rutland Boughton, *The Glastonbury Festival Movement*, 1922, p. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Edward Dent, *Opera* (Penguin Books), 1951, p. 189, reminds us that 'the Glastonbury festivals were of a most modest description'. A small village

hall was used as the theatre and a grand piano 'not a very good one' took the place of an orchestra, while many of the performers were amateurs. A less sympathetic critic, Eric Blom, in *Music in England* (Penguin Books), 1947, p. 251, described Glastonbury as 'none the less a noble if wayward venture' and 'The Immortal Hour' as successful 'in spite of a subject wrapped up in Celtic twilight, little vitality of action and music that is curiously wan and undramatic'.

<sup>9</sup> T. H. White, *The Once and Future King* (Complete edition), 1958.

<sup>10</sup> Copy in the Shaw Papers.

<sup>11</sup> Hurd, *ibid.*, pp. 89-90.

<sup>12</sup> Hurd, *ibid.*, p. 118. Mozart, himself, wrote in a letter to his father, 26 Sept. 1781, 'But as passions, whether violent or not, must never be expressed in such a way as to excite disgust, and as music, even in the most terrible situations, must never offend the ear, but must please the hearer, or in other words must never cease to be *music*, I have gone from F . . . not into a remote key, but

into a related one . . .', cf. *The Letters of Mozart and His Family*, transl. by Emily Anderson, 1938, iii, p. 1144.

<sup>13</sup> In the Shaw Papers.

<sup>14</sup> Hurd, *ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>15</sup> He resigned in 1956 over the Hungarian Revolution.

<sup>16</sup> Hurd, *ibid.*, p. 145.

## APPENDIX

*List of Rutland Boughton Collection mostly presented by A. R. Boughton and the late Joy Boughton (Mrs. Christopher Ede), Son and Daughter of Rutland Boughton*

### MUSIC-DRAMAS

#### MS. Number

50960. Eolf (Boughton)\*. 1903. Vocal score.  
 50961-2. The Birth of Arthur (Buckley and Boughton). 1908-9. Vocal and unfinished fragments of the full score.  
 50963. The Immortal Hour (Fiona MacLeod). 1912-14. Full score.  
 50964-5. The Round Table (Buckley and Boughton). 1915-16. Vocal and full scores.  
 50966. Bethlehem (Coventry Nativity Play). 1915. Full score.  
 50967-8. Alkestis (Euripides transl. G. Murray). 1920-4. Vocal and full scores (original and revised versions).  
 50969-70. The Queen of Cornwall (Hardy). 1923-5. Vocal and full scores.  
 50971-2. The Ever Young (Boughton). 1928-9. Vocal and full scores.  
 50973-4. The Lily Maid (Boughton). 1933-4. Vocal and full scores.  
 50975-7. Galahad (Boughton). 1904-44. Full score of The Chapel in Lyonesse, 1904 (afterwards the second scene in Galahad) and libretto, vocal and full scores of Galahad.  
 50978-9. Avalon (Boughton). 1944-5. Libretto, vocal and full scores.

### BALLETS AND INCIDENTAL MUSIC

- 50980-1. Snow White (Margaret Morris). 1912. Condensed and full scores.  
 50982. The Death of Columbine (Bostock and Boughton). 1921. Full score.  
 50983. May Day (Boughton). 1926-7. Condensed and imperfect full scores.  
 50984. Music for The Little Plays of St. Francis. 1924-5.

### ORCHESTRAL WORKS

50985. Cromwell Symphony. 1904. Full score.  
 50986. Deirdre (or Celtic) Symphony. 1927. Full score.  
 50987. Symphony no. 3 in B minor. 1937. Full score.  
 50988. A Summer Night. 1899-1903. Full score.  
 50989. Purcell Variations. 1901. Full score.  
 50990. Troilus and Cressida. 1902. Full score.

\* Names of the librettists or authors of the words or scenarios are given in brackets.



*MS. Number*

50991. Love and Spring. 1906. Full score.  
50992. Three Flights. 1929. Full score.  
50993. Four English Pieces. 1937. Full score.  
50994. Reunion Variations. 1945. Full score.  
50995. Three Aylesbury Games. 1952. Full score.  
50996. Small orchestral works (Grand March from *The Bride of Messina*, c. 1897 (piano arrangement; presented by Michael Hurd by courtesy of Mrs. L. Jenkins), *Winter Sun*, 1933, *Chorale Suite* arranged from Bach Choral Preludes, c. 1941, *Rondo in Wartime*, 1940-1, *Prelude on Christmas Hymn*, 1941).  
50997. Concerto no. 1 in C minor for Oboe and Strings. 1936. Full score.  
50998. Concerto no. 2 in G minor for Oboe and Strings. 1936-7. Full score.  
50999. Concerto for Flute and Strings. 1937. Imperfect condensed and full scores.  
51000-1. Concerto for Trumpet and Orchestra. 1943. Condensed and full scores.

CHAMBER MUSIC

51002. String Quartet no. 1 in A. 1923.  
51003. String Quartet no. 2 in F. 1923.  
51004. Oboe Quartet no. 2. 1945.  
51005. Smaller chamber works (*Dorian Study*, 1920-3?, *Winter Sun*, 1933, *Somerset Pastoral* and *The Passing of the Fairy*, 1937, *Trio for violin, 'cello and piano*, 1948, *Three songs without words for Oboe Quartet*, 1950).

VOCAL WORKS

51006. Works for voice and orchestra:  
    *Standing beyond Time* (no. 4 of *Four Songs* (Carpenter)), 1907.  
    Nos. 1, 3, and 4 of *Songs of Womanhood* (Walshe), 1911.  
    *God is our Hope*, 1941.  
    *Clown's Congé* (Slater), 1948.  
51007. *Five Celtic Love Songs* (Fiona Macleod) for voice and strings, 1910.  
51008. Smaller works for voice with chamber accompaniment:  
    *Two Duets . . . arranged from Folk-Songs*, 1918.  
    *Symbol Songs* (Richardson), 1920.  
    *Song of Lyonesse, Evensong* (Hardy), 1923.  
    *Five Songs* (Corrie), 1931.  
    *Five Songs* (Masefield, Hardy, Webb), 1944.  
51009. Songs for voice and piano:  
    *The Midnight Wind* (Motherwell), 1895.  
    *Thou and I* (King), 1895.  
    *The Fox* (Griffin), 1896.  
    *Presentiment* (Heine), 1897.  
    *Four Faery Songs* (Keats), 1901-2.  
    *Three Baby Songs* (Swinburne), 1902.  
    *May and Death* (Browning), 1902.

*MS. Number*

51010. Songs of the English (Kipling), 1901. With piano arrangement of the orchestral parts.
51011. Songs for voice and piano:  
Love at Sea (Swinburne), 1907.  
Sweet Evenings (Eliot), 1908?  
Joy is Fleet (Meredith), 1908?  
A Sight in Camp (Whitman), 1908?  
The Wind (Yeats), 1916.  
Into the Twilight (Yeats), 1917.  
Apollo (Binns), 1919.  
Four Everyman Songs, 1922.  
A Song of Cider (Chesterton), 1930.  
Faery Song arranged from *The Immortal Hour* (Fiona Macleod), 1931?  
Eros (Webb), 1931.  
Bridal Song (Williams), 1932.  
The Faery People (Webb), 1940.  
The Street (Housman), 1940.
51012. Unaccompanied songs:  
The Devon Maid (Keats), 1906?  
The Wind (Carpenter), 1909.  
The Dreamers (Buchanan), 1924.  
Playing Shepherds (Marlowe), 1924.

## THE GORDON PAPERS

DURING the last few years there has been a marked revival of interest in the character, career, and reputation of General Gordon. To his contemporaries he was the outstanding hero of his day, and twice his activities were the focus of national attention. After the reports of his successful command of the 'Ever Victorious' Army against the Taiping rebels in 1864 had captured the imagination of the country, he was ubiquitously known as 'Chinese Gordon'.<sup>1</sup> Twenty years later, in response to popular sentiment, he was sent on an ambiguous mission to Khartoum. His eventual death, after more than ten months of siege, interrupted communications, uncertain reports, proved to be a political catastrophe. It was in the commercially attractive atmosphere of political controversy, moral indignation, fevered hero-worship, and banal sentiment of the years 1884-5 that the majority of books about Gordon were produced.<sup>2</sup> At that time or in the following years selections from any extant and unpublished writings of Gordon (which apart from the *Khartoum Journal* consist mainly of personal letters) were eagerly brought out. The effect of this



comprehensive contemporary treatment was on the one hand, to perpetuate a partial view of Gordon, and on the other, to discourage the re-editing of his papers, which would have corrected it.

There is a new and critical interest both in Gordon's command in China<sup>3</sup> and in his administration as an employee of the Egyptian Government in the Sudan.<sup>4</sup> The recent acquisition by the Department of Manuscripts of two large collections of Gordon Papers coincides most happily with it.<sup>5</sup> First to arrive was the Moffitt collection, Add. MSS. 51291-312, bequeathed by Lt.-Col. F. W. Moffitt, D.S.O., son of Gordon's youngest sister Helen and of Dr. Moffitt who was Surgeon-General to the 'Ever Victorious' Army. It was formed by Gordon's eldest unmarried sister Mary Augusta Gordon. The second, the Bell collection, Add. MSS. 52386-408, was assembled by Sir Henry William Gordon, K.C.B., Commissary-General of Ordnance and Gordon's eldest brother. It passed first to his son Colonel Louis Augustus Gordon,<sup>6</sup> and subsequently to his granddaughter, Mrs. R. Bell. Through her generosity and that of her cousin Mr. David Gordon this collection is now also in the Museum.

Since both are family collections, their emphasis upon Western biographical and documentary material is to be expected. Together they form a long and virtually uninterrupted series of autograph letters, which represents Gordon's contact with home throughout his peripatetic career.<sup>7</sup> His principal correspondent during his early years in the Crimea, and notably in China 1860-4, was his mother. After her death in 1873 these letters passed to Sir Henry Gordon, who already held many letters and papers, some private and some official, sent to him by his brother in an attempt to explain his controversial position in China. When Gordon returned to England his sympathy and friendship with his sister Augusta deepened through a common interest in evangelical mysticism. From 1865 until his death at Khartoum on 26 January 1885 the majority of his letters are addressed to her. When he was in England Gordon generally made his home with Augusta at 5 Rockstone Place, Southampton. It is probably for this reason that many other letters and papers relating to his subsequent career, and particularly to his successive Governor-Generalships of the Equatorial Provinces and of the Sudan, 1874-9, are to be found with the Moffitt collection. Because letters were passed between Sir Henry and Augusta, and because papers relating to all parts of Gordon's life are to be found in both collections, any absolute distinction between their contents is impossible. But it is true to say that the main interest of the Bell collection lies in the Chinese papers, and that of the Moffitt collection in the African material.

During Gordon's first eighteen months in China his work was routine surveying and construction duty. At frequent intervals he sent home boxes containing sables, vases, jades, and 'enamels', some of them probably from the Summer Palace, burnt down soon after his arrival in October 1860. His interest in antiquities



was fostered by Sir Henry's brother-in-law, Brigadier-General Charles Staveley. Staveley himself became in 1862 Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces left in China. Therefore he was instrumental in having Gordon appointed, in March 1863, successor to Burgevine, the dismissed American commander of the 'Ever Victorious' Army, a mixed irregular force of Europeans and Chinese based upon Shanghai.

While Gordon's role in suppressing the Taiping rebellion has generally been overemphasized by European writers, it has been unduly depreciated in Chinese sources. In spite of the grudging tributes of Li Hung-chang, Governor of Kiangsu and Gordon's supreme commander, his victories were the first won by the Government since the beginning of the rebellion, and prepared directly for the recapture of Nanking.<sup>8</sup> Throughout this period Gordon's letters to his family<sup>9</sup> are supplemented in the Bell collection by four other groups of papers. There are official Chinese letters and documents, which have been transferred to the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts.<sup>10</sup> Two volumes of letters to Gordon, 1863-4, include those of Sir Frederick Bruce, British Minister at Peking; Dr. Halliday Macartney and Robert Hart, British officials in the Chinese service; the American consul; and Burgevine.<sup>11</sup> A number of autograph sketch-maps illustrate some of Gordon's campaigns,<sup>12</sup> but a journal of his command up to 31 December 1863, sent to Sir Henry in April 1864 in the care of the British interpreter F. W. Mayers, does not survive. According to Gordon's own description, it included 'lots of photographs . . . and plans of all the actions . . .'.<sup>13</sup> There are, however, a further two volumes which concern the structure and administration of the 'Ever Victorious'.<sup>14</sup> Besides lists of supplies, and of officers, their pay, pensions, and deaths, there are Gordon's autograph papers, most of them recording the difficulty of his work, where the duration of his command was uncertain, and his position with both Chinese and British Governments, equivocal.

The force itself was mutinous. Gordon wrote:

I can say with respect to the high pay of the officers that there is not the slightest chance of getting any men for less—it is by far the most dangerous service for officers I have ever seen, and the latter have the satisfaction of always feeling *in action* that their men are utterly untrustworthy in the way of following them—<sup>15</sup>

Many of the officers were Americans, and twice their preference for their dispossessed commander and compatriot Burgevine led them to active revolt against Gordon. Burgevine himself joined the Taipings in August 1863. Gordon, employing a combination of force and tact, obliged him to return, but not before he had written, 3 October 1863, from the rebel stronghold at Soochow:

I am perfectly aware from nearly four years service in this country that both sides are equally rotten. But you must confess that on the Taiping side there is at least [t] innovation,



and a disregard for many of the frivolous and idolatrous customs of the Manchus. While my eyes are fully open to the defects of the Taiping character, from a close observation of three months, I find many promising traits never yet displayed by the Imperialists. The Rebel Mandarins are *without* exception brave and gallant men, and could you see Chung Wang, who is now here, you would immediately say that such a man deserved to succeed. Between him and the Footai, or Prince Kung, or any other Manchoo officer *there is* no comparison. . . .<sup>16</sup>

Gordon's own disillusionment with the Imperialists followed the fall of Soochow. The execution of the rebel 'princes' took place without Gordon's knowledge, and in a manner which appeared to him treacherous. He attempted to resign and the slight offered to the Imperial Government by the refusal of presents sent to reward him was seen with concern by Robert Hart. At the time Gordon finally disbanded the force, Hart wrote to him from Peking on 17 June 1864:

Allow me to congratulate you. The Emperor has by a special Edict conferred on you the Hwang Ma-Kwa, or yellow jacket, and has also presented you with four sets of Tetuh's uniform, which, you remember, you said you would like to have. Don't, like a good fellow, refuse to accept these things; the *government* has the very highest appreciation of your services, and wishes to show it in every way you will allow them to do so. . . .<sup>17</sup>

Shortly before returning from China Gordon had written, 'I do not like the duty in England, and I may add the pay.'<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, nine years of comparative obscurity followed. First Gordon supervised the construction of forts at Gravesend, next served on the Danube International Commission. Then, as a result of a chance meeting at Constantinople in 1872 with Nubar Pasha, minister of the Khedive Ismā'il of Egypt, Gordon agreed to succeed Sir Samuel Baker as Governor-General of the Equatorial Provinces. Gordon's work in the Sudan from 1874 to 1879 coincided with the final phase of Ismā'il's ambitious and expensive plans for Egyptian territorial expansion. His career as an Egyptian explorer and administrator involved him both in the advance towards the reputedly rich Lacustrine kingdoms of central Africa, and in the attempted annexation of Ethiopian territory. It is a period of very great interest in African history and is fairly well documented by papers mainly in the Moffitt collection.

Two volumes of reports and letters concern affairs in the Sudan and Ethiopia respectively.<sup>19</sup> Many of the letters came from Ismā'il or from the Central Government at Cairo, while others are from Gordon's own agents. The Ethiopian material also contains Gordon's entertaining and informative autograph report of his visits to the disputed Ethiopian territory of Bogos in 1877, and to King John, September–December 1879. His illustrations include a drawing of an audience with the King on 27 December 1879 (Pl. xxii) and a sketch-map of both the internal and external political situation.<sup>20</sup> In the volume of general correspondence<sup>21</sup> there are letters from Sir Samuel Baker. More letters from Baker



come in a supplementary volume from the Bell collection,<sup>22</sup> together with a letter from King Mutesa of Buganda<sup>23</sup> and a group of very interesting letters, 1879-80, from the early C.M.S. missionaries at Mutesa's court at Rubaga. Gordon's surveys and plans of the Nile record the progress of the exploration.<sup>24</sup> But the last and outstanding source is the great series of African letters to Augusta.<sup>25</sup> Many of them are very long, like all Gordon's personal correspondence often illustrated by thumb-nail drawings and sketch-maps, and they take the form of a detailed if haphazard diary of exploration and of political and military events.

An edition of extracts from these letters appeared during Gordon's lifetime. It was *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa*, 1881, edited by Dr. George Birkbeck Hill.<sup>26</sup> The book is important because, notwithstanding the generosity of the former owners of the Moffitt collection in making the originals available, many accounts of Gordon's work in Africa have had to rely upon the printed text. There are editorial modifications of phraseology, punctuation, and spelling, besides occasional misreadings. Much more important are the omissions. Dr. Hill claimed to have included only about one-tenth of the letters,<sup>27</sup> and his blue-pencil marks remain on them as evidence. Many of the excisions were dictated by the obvious need to remove Gordon's characteristically caustic or personal observations upon men still living. On the first day of his journey to central Africa, 21 February 1874, his special train was derailed:

It was odd but Mr. Lesseps got into our carriage near Ismailia. he is 70 yrs of age. his wife was confined a few weeks ago. he is a nice bright strong old man, and had ridden with two young nieces some 20 miles. he was very kind. perhaps it was meant for me to see him which I should not have done, if the Engine had not run off the line. . . .<sup>28</sup>

The resulting book had a well-justified success in the market previously captured by Speke and Grant, Livingstone, Stanley, Baker, and Burton. Gordon the explorer, the Christian, and the Crusader against the slave-trade was emphasized according to the current British interests in Africa. But it was at the cost of obscuring his role as an Egyptian public servant and his sometimes considerable political acumen. This penetrating comment, for example, upon Mutesa's political manoeuvres, written from Lado, 21 January 1875, is omitted by Dr. Hill:

Mtesa continues to send curtesies & sent also 10 Elepht tusks but this does not pay for he sends a lot of men down & they eat the Dhorra which is scarce in fact he sends down to hear the news & get presents.<sup>29</sup>

Another important group of letters relating mainly to Gordon's later restrictive administration as Governor-General of the Sudan was omitted at Gordon's own request from Dr. Hill's book, except for a partial summary of their contents.<sup>30</sup> They were over 100 full letters from the Italian explorer Romolo Gessi, dated 5 August 1878-8 May 1880, mainly describing the daily progress of his campaign against the slave dealers in the Bahr el Ghazal.<sup>31</sup> Until 1932 they were part



of the Moffitt collection. Then Colonel Moffitt offered them to the explorer's son, Felix Gessi.<sup>32</sup> They are now in the Museo dell'Africa Italiana.

After the forced abdication of Ismā'il, Gordon resigned from the Egyptian service. His varied occupations from 1879 to 1884 are illustrated by a number of family and other letters and papers in both collections.<sup>33</sup> Gordon's employment in 1880, as secretary to Lord Ripon, lasted only four days after his arrival with the new Viceroy in India. Within the same year he had been to China as peace-maker, and returned to England. A tour of duty commanding the Royal Engineers in Mauritius, 1881-2, was followed by five and a half months working for the Cape Government to terminate the war against the Basutos. Among his characteristic objections to the employment was 'contact with those very distinguished Heroes of the Colony, who have been in the late Wars and who know everything'.<sup>34</sup>

Much of Gordon's time in Mauritius had been spent evolving idiosyncratic religious theories, contained in letters and in beautifully illustrated papers and elaborate maps, sent to Augusta.<sup>35</sup> The *Lodicia Seychellarum* or Coco de Mer was the Forbidden Fruit, and (Pl. xxiii), the *Artocarpus incisa* or Bread Fruit tree, the Tree of Life. The site of the Garden of Eden itself was near Praslin Island, one of the Seychelles group. In the following year Gordon realized his long-cherished ambition to visit Jerusalem, and a further spate of letters, papers, and maps went home.<sup>36</sup> As an Engineer his religious studies always tended to have a topographical bias. He tried to establish the sites of the Gibeons of the Old Testament, of the boundary between the tribes of Benjamin and Judah, of the Crucifixion, and of Christ's tomb. While these interests were one basis for the rumours of Gordon's insanity current in London society, he always forgot them if there was need for action. And they were evidence, in much the same way as Gladstone's Homeric theories, of the nineteenth-century system-making, consequent upon the attempt to reconcile science with religion. Nevertheless, when Augusta Gordon prepared her *Letters of General Gordon to his sister*, 1888, with its emphasis upon her brother's religious views, she considered that, unlike his papers from Gravesend,<sup>37</sup> they were unsuitable for inclusion.

By early January 1884 King Leopold of the Belgians, who had long wanted Gordon for the Congo, had at last secured his services. Then the national outcry against abandoning the Egyptian garrisons in the Sudan to destruction by the Mahdi was focused in a clamour to send Gordon. While the relative interest of the few letters, 1884-5, on Gordon's last journey and from Khartoum, diminishes in comparison with the *Journal*, they round off the series of family letters in both collections.<sup>38</sup> The Arabic documents in the Bell collection include some Mahdist material of this date, which has been transferred to the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts. Among them is a fatwā of the ulāmā of Khartoum dated 14 September 1884. It is a unique late copy in



a series which attempts to discredit the pretensions of the Mahdi by proving he has neither the prophesied physical nor spiritual characteristics.<sup>39</sup>

During the siege Augusta was kept factually informed by Colonel Cameron of the War Office, while telegrams and letters from the Queen added emotional overtones.<sup>40</sup> On Thursday, 5 February 1885, Sir Edward Hamilton, private secretary to Gladstone, wrote in his diary:

The blackest day since the horrible Phoenix Park murders—the news of fall of Khartoum—Gordon's fate could not be ascertained for certain. Some declared he was killed; others, that he was a prisoner; and a third story was that he was defending himself in some building within the town. . . .

Wolseley had kept tight hold of the Telegraph wire and not allowed any message to be transmitted. The news however leaked out about breakfast time; and the excitement was naturally intense. . . .<sup>41</sup>

The remainder of the papers in both collections are evidence of the reaction to Gordon's fate. Augusta became the object of national sympathy and received letters and votes of condolence, many from total strangers.<sup>42</sup> Almost a third of the Bell collection is composed of material sent to Sir Henry after the fall of Khartoum.<sup>43</sup> In face of the persistent rumours that Gordon was not dead, Sir Henry was at pains to include circumstantial accounts in his biography of his brother.<sup>44</sup> Lord Wolseley, Sir Charles Watson, and Sir Charles Wilson all attempted clarification in letters from Egypt of what actually happened. The expressions of condolence to Sir Henry include the careful letters of Gladstone and Granville. In contrast there are letters, poems, sermons, and pamphlets, many fevered in tone. Together with the thorough-going commercialization of Gordon's death, exemplified by thinly disguised overtures from publishers angling for rights in the *Khartoum Journal*, by letters from artists making commemorative medals, Church windows, portraits, busts, and photographs, they are evidence of the Gordon cult. It was against this social phenomenon that Lytton Strachey reacted to write his brilliant but unreliable portrait in *Eminent Victorians*. In pointing to one explanation for the historical irrelevance of many studies of Gordon, besides supplying much of the information to correct it, these two collections are of very great value.

JENNY LEWIS

<sup>1</sup> This early soubriquet was not superseded. Cecil Rhodes, a personal friend, referred to 'Chinese Gordon' just after hearing of his death at Khartoum. *Maunde Papers*, Rhodes House, Oxford.

<sup>2</sup> Vide R. L. Hill, *A Bibliography of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, 1939, pp. 116–23.

<sup>3</sup> Vide Teng Ssu-yii, *Historiography of the Taiping Rebellion*, Harvard, 1962.

<sup>4</sup> Vide Richard Gray, *A History of the Southern Sudan 1839–1889*, 1961.

<sup>5</sup> Gordon was already fairly well represented in the collections of the Department. In 1893 his sister Augusta had bequeathed the *Khartoum Journal*. A selection of letters to his family, Add. MS. 33222A, was presented jointly by Sir Henry William Gordon and Augusta. Other groups of papers include collections of letters to Colonel



C. M. Watson, to C. H. Allen, secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, and to R. S. Standen, his tailor, general agent, and friend.

<sup>6</sup> In his possession when seen by Bernard M. Allen, son of the secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, and Gordon's most scholarly biographer. *Vide* Bernard M. Allen, *Gordon and the Sudan*, 1931, p. 456, &c.

<sup>7</sup> The exceptions are the majority of letters printed in *General Gordon's Letters from the Crimea, the Danube and Armenia*, 1854-8, ed. D. C. Boulger, 1884, of which only about 15 per cent. appear in these collections, together with Add. MS. 33222A.

<sup>8</sup> *Vide* J. C. Cheng, *Taiping Rebellion 1860-1864*, 1963, p. 162.

<sup>9</sup> Add. MSS. 51291, 52389. These letters have never been published, although long extracts from them and from other letters and papers in the Bell collection appear in Bernard M. Allen, *Gordon in China*, 1933.

<sup>10</sup> *Vide* following article, E. D. Grinstead, *Gordon's Chinese Papers*.

<sup>11</sup> Add. MSS. 52386-7.

<sup>12</sup> Add. MS. 52396.

<sup>13</sup> Add. MS. 52389, fol. 249. Letter to his mother, 13 Aug. 1864.

<sup>14</sup> Add. MSS. 52393-4.

<sup>15</sup> Add. MS. 52393, fol. 5b.

<sup>16</sup> Add. MS. 52386, fols. 85b-86.

<sup>17</sup> Add. MS. 52387, fols. 110-110b.

<sup>18</sup> Add. MS. 52389, fol. 242.

<sup>19</sup> Add. MSS. 51303-4. Some Arabic documents, and Amharic letters from King John, King Menelik of Shoa, Walda Mika'el, &c., have been transferred to the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts.

<sup>20</sup> Add. MS. 51304, fols. 84, 85.

<sup>21</sup> Add. MS. 51305.

<sup>22</sup> Add. MS. 52388.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 10. A lithographic reproduction appears in G. B. Hill, *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa*, 1881, facing p. 160. The letter was probably written by Stanley's ex-servant Maftaa.

At the time it was written, 6 Feb. 1876, Gordon had established the chain of Nile stations from Lado to Dufie, and was thus free to concentrate upon the Equatorial Kingdoms of Buganda and Bunyoro. Mutesa, by diplomacy and evasion, was able to oppose the threat to the independence of Buganda.

<sup>24</sup> Add. MSS. 51310, 52396-7.

<sup>25</sup> Add. MSS. 51292-5.

<sup>26</sup> The work was originally undertaken by Dr. Hill's brother-in-law, Mr. Scott. On 1 Aug. 1880 he wrote to Sir Henry: '... recently Riaz Pasha and his chief the Khedive of Egypt have taken a view of Colonel Gordon and his career—a view influenced somewhat by your brother's expressions of opinion—which makes it difficult for me in my position as a Judge of the appeal court of Egypt to write freely and without reservation about the whole matter.' Add. MS. 52398, fols. 8b-9.

<sup>27</sup> *Vide* Preface, p. xi.

<sup>28</sup> Add. MS. 51292, fols. 11-11b.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* fol. 101. Cf. Richard Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 117, and Sir J. M. Gray, 'Mutesa of Buganda', *Uganda Journal*, 1934.

<sup>30</sup> 'I think Dr. Hill had better have nothing to do with Gessi's papers for the Italians are a queer lot, and he might have a deal of bother with Gessi's widow. Even I myself, would be inclined to fight shy of it. better let Burton do it, if he likes.' Letter to Sir H. W. Gordon, 13 May 1881, Add. MS. 52390, fols. 53, 54b.

<sup>31</sup> *Vide* Carlo Zaghi, *Gordon, Gessi e la Riconquista del Sudan*, Florence, 1947, p. 69. These letters are printed there.

<sup>32</sup> Add. MS. 51302, fol. 127.

<sup>33</sup> Add. MSS. 51296-8, 51302, 51305, 52388, 52390, 52398.

<sup>34</sup> Add. MS. 51302, fol. 68.

<sup>35</sup> Add. MSS. 51297, 51307, 51312.

<sup>36</sup> Add. MSS. 51298, 51308, 51311, 51312.

<sup>37</sup> Add. MS. 51306.

<sup>38</sup> Add. MS. 51298.

<sup>39</sup> I am indebted for this information to Professor P. M. Holt of the School of Oriental and African Studies.

<sup>40</sup> Add. MS. 51299.

<sup>41</sup> *Vide* *Hamilton Papers*, vol. xli. Add. MS. 48639, fols. 36-36b.

<sup>42</sup> Add. MSS. 51300-1. Two letters, fols. 90-93b, from Lady Pembroke arrange for the presentation of a book bequeathed to the Museum by Augusta in 1893 of over 900 signatures of sympathy from 'The Princesses of Great Britain and Ireland, the Peeresses of the Realm, and the Wives of Bishops and of Members of the House of Commons, as representing the Women of the United Kingdom'. The last signature is Florence Nightingale. Add. MS. 34482.

<sup>43</sup> Add. MSS. 52399-405.

<sup>44</sup> H. W. Gordon, *Events in the Life of Charles George Gordon*, 1886.



## GORDON'S CHINESE PAPERS

IN the history of China rebellions against the central authority are endemic. Control of a limited territory could not create a viable state, especially in the Ch'ing period, when more and more non-Chinese land came under the direct rule of the Manchus. The rise of the Taiping Empire from peasant uprisings in Kwangsi (south-west China) to control of the southern capital, Nanking, in central China, aroused great interest among Westerners in the 1850's. The rumours that the Taipings were Christians spread around the world, and diplomats, missionaries, and soldiers of fortune dreamed of the great prizes to be won if the Manchu dynasty lost the mandate of Heaven. For the diplomats, the maintenance of the *status quo* would prevent the much-feared partitioning of China. Intervention on however small a scale would be answered by other Powers in their spheres of influence.

Missionaries were not numerous enough to give any impetus. The Taiping translation of the Bible was grafted on to the cult of the Rebel Emperor, and no Christian could stomach the heresies and sacrilege of the 'Heavenly Father and the Heavenly Son' in the human flesh of Cantonese Hakkas.

For the soldiers of fortune, vistas opened of riches and power to be gained through association with either side. Their value to the ill-trained armies of both sides was their European experience in military strategy, and their knowledge of European firearms.

The tiny trading community of Shanghai, commanding the mouth of the Long River (the Yangtse), had to be taken by the Taipings if they wanted a route to the sea and a free market for firearms. Smuggling was an expensive method of fitting out their troops. While the Nanking-Suchow-Shanghai area was small in comparison with the vast battlefields of the Chinese provincial armies massed around the Taipings, and while the taking of a few towns on the Grand Canal could not compare with the hundred-league advances of the military governors, Shanghai was decisive in Taiping tactical defeats.

After the 'defence' of Shanghai to a thirty-mile radius, the 'Ever Victorious' Army, commanded first by Ward, and financed in all probability by the Shanghai trading community, sallied out to take near-by towns. Defeats after some successes brought about a demoralization in the force. Upon Ward's death Burgevine received diplomatic approval as head of the force, but Gordon was appointed. The document confirming him as 'Brigadier-General' was translated by William Mayers, Interpreter in Her Majesty's Consulate, dated 16 May 1863.<sup>1</sup> His rank was in the Kiangsu Army, and for reasons of prestige he was made co-equal with Li Heng-sung. This was already agreed between Brigadier-General Staveley and Li Hung-chang, the provincial governor, in January 1863.<sup>2</sup> A standard work in China on the Taiping 'Revolution' is Hua Gang's *Taiping Tianguo geming*



*zhanzheng-shi*. Hua Gang says: 'Li Hung-chang bent the knee to the foreign plunderers and parleyed for co-operation in the struggle against the Taipings.'<sup>3</sup>

In the document dated 24 September 1863, Li is taking a rather stronger line, telling Gordon that he is a Chinese official of a Chinese army, paid and provisioned by China, and that he would do well to obey orders.<sup>4</sup> In this document the interpreter Mei is mentioned. This 'Scoutmaster's' semi-fictional biography gives a clue to the part played by the Chinese bankers of Shanghai in the financing of the campaign.<sup>5</sup> His name occurs again in a document of 13 October 1863, relating to Burgevine, who had gone over to the rebels.<sup>6</sup> Li Hung-chang was very wary of Taiping deserters, but Gordon had at least 2,000 of them in his own ranks. In the letter of 15 March 1864, Li orders Gordon to return four or five thousand to their native villages with expenses.<sup>7</sup>

The Chinese military authorities were less accommodating in the case of eight rebel 'Princes', whom Gordon had induced to surrender. They were murdered in cold blood on the grounds that they refused to have their heads shaved. Gordon at once demanded an apology, and the letter of 11 February 1864 from Li refers to the public proclamation clearing Gordon of any complicity in the affair.<sup>8</sup> Chinese historians still blame Gordon, although quite casually admitting that Li Hung-chang and Ch'eng Hsüeh-ch'i had custody of the rebels and behaved with a cruelty typical of the ruling feudal classes.<sup>9</sup>

After the capture of Suchow, the 'Ever Victorious' Army cleared the way to the north and west of the Great Lake (T'ai-hu), and to the great relief of all was disbanded.<sup>10</sup> The final victory over the rebels, culminating in the sack of Nanking, came soon after the suicide of the Heavenly King on 1 June 1864.

It seems that the Taiping emperor could not think of abandoning his capital to fight on in the provincial border regions. Thus there were two fixed points, Peking and Nanking. The events of 1860-4 made Shanghai a third fixed point.

The documents so far mentioned are from the Bell collection, but Gordon's Chinese Papers have a long history in the British Museum.

In 1881 Colonel Charles Gordon, C.B., presented a collection of his papers. These are under Or. 2338. In 1887 a further set was presented by Sir Henry William Gordon, K.C.B., now at Or. 3534. These are chiefly letters relating to the campaign, from Ch'eng Hsüeh-ch'i, Kuo Sung-lin, and Li Heng-sung, as well as dispatches from Li Hung-chang. There are even letters from Mu Wang and Chung Wang, the rebel princes, and twenty-one folios of maps supplied by spies.<sup>11</sup> In the 1887 collection we have the proclamation concerning the execution of the Wangs (Or. 3534A).<sup>12</sup>

The lessons which the Chinese learnt from Gordon were purely military. The role of the gunboat in delta warfare, the quality of firearms, and only secondarily good generalship were no doubt discussed in the highest circles.

There is a letter from Ch'ung-hou, the Tientsin trade superintendent, on the

manufacture of armaments in China (Or. 3534B, fols. 17-19). This Manchu solicitude culminated in gifts by the emperor as a reward for services (Or. 3534B, fols. 5-16), which Gordon refused, thus insulting the Chinese Empire to keep his reputation for rectitude. This curious episode of Sino-British co-operation involved soldiers of fortune, local peasants, and rebel deserters, fighting under an officer of the British Army, as an embarrassing but efficient grafted dragon's tail. It is not likely to be forgotten by historians.

ERIC D. GRINSTEAD

<sup>1</sup> Or. 12914/1.

<sup>2</sup> Or. 12914/2.

<sup>3</sup> This work is available in Russian: *Istoriya revolyutsionnoi voyni Taipinskogo gosudarstva*, Moskva, 1952. See p. 214.

<sup>4</sup> Or. 12914/3.

<sup>5</sup> Hosea Ballou Morse, *In the days of the Taipings*. Based on Morse's considerable experience of China, and the archives of the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts.

<sup>6</sup> Or. 12914/4.

<sup>7</sup> Or. 12914/5.

<sup>8</sup> Or. 12914/6.

<sup>9</sup> Hua Gang, *Istoriya* [etc.], p. 227.

<sup>10</sup> See Teng Ssu-yü, *Historiography of the Taiping Rebellion*, Harvard, 1962, and particularly John S. Gregory, *British Attitudes*, University of London Ph.D. Thesis, 1957.

<sup>11</sup> More of these documents can be seen in the Public Record Office, under F.O. 682. One concerns Col. Gordon's status in the Chinese Army (F.O. 682/29/9).

<sup>12</sup> See above, at note 8.

## THE PENWORTHAM BREVIARY

A THIRTEENTH-CENTURY Bishop of Salisbury, Giles de Bridport, boasted that 'amongst the churches of the whole world, the church of Sarum hath shone resplendent, like the sun in his full orb, in respect of its divine service and its ministers'.<sup>1</sup> In the fourteenth century the reformer John Wycliffe took a less favourable view, saying that 'song and Salisbury use' were two of the four 'sathenas disceitis' which militated against those saving instruments, the 'foure Evangelistis'.<sup>2</sup> However, the 'Use of Sarum', that is to say the modification of the liturgy of Latin Christendom which was practised in Salisbury Cathedral, was followed increasingly in the later medieval Church of England and was to supply the main material for the First Book of Common Prayer in 1549. Books of the Sarum Use are therefore of prime importance for the study of the history of the Church of England and its worship—and for the study of the liturgy in general—and to its collection of these the Museum has made a notable addition by the acquisition of the Penwortham Breviary, which has been numbered Add. MS. 52359.<sup>3</sup>

The manuscript is an early-fourteenth-century Breviary with musical notation. Standard tests reveal that it is essentially of the Sarum Use. Inasmuch as it takes no notice originally of certain changes in the Use introduced by Bishop Roger



de Mortival in 1319,<sup>4</sup> a date in the first two decades of the century is suggested for the book. This is supported by its script and decoration, which in fact point towards 1300. The script is a clear and regular, rather angular, Gothic book-hand in brown and red. Musical notation has been added where appropriate in a similar brown ink on a staff of four red lines. The Breviary's decoration includes fourteen historiated initials and there are numerous other initials either illuminated or merely in red and blue penwork. In the margins is to be found ornamentation consisting of foliate bar borders and extensions from the initials, which often incorporates naturalistic and grotesque subjects. Both text and music have been written with considerable care and the illumination, whilst not of the highest order, is an interesting example of the style of English painting which, because of the associations of several of its surviving witnesses, is termed 'East Anglian' (Pl. xxiv).

Amongst the additions made to the Breviary at various times is one to which it owes its name (fol. 500b). This is a memorandum stating that in 1486 Thomas Harwode, chaplain, presented the manuscript (described as 'unum portiferum notatum integrum cum legendo competenti') to the parish church of Penwortham, Lancashire. It was to be kept carefully by the churchwardens, who were to deliver it to the curate of the church for the celebration of mattins and vespers. Harwode was concerned about the preservation of the book, for realizing that if it was used for the instruction of children, 'through the carelessness of such children the said portiforium would within a few years be destroyed and reduced to nothing', he proceeded to lay down precautions against this, which unfortunately have not survived in their entirety.

In 1486, then, the Breviary was at Penwortham, where was a cell of the Benedictine monastery of Evesham, which had agreed to staff the local parish church with three monks and a chaplain.<sup>5</sup> Can anything be determined about the manuscript's earlier history? Its litany of saints is not a Sarum one, but one as probably used by the Augustinian Canons of St. Victor, of whom there were six houses in England. Furthermore there are in the book five coats of arms, which may well be part of its original decoration. They are of the families of Despenser, Warren, Fitzwilliam, and Constable (fol. 31) and Ferrers (d. 395b). Finally, amongst additions appearing in the calendar, may be noted two in mid-fourteenth-century hands, namely the Translation and Invention of St. Anthony the Great (17 March and 11 June), rare feasts which imply a special interest in the saint they commemorate.

A full explanation of the facts just given has not so far emerged. They may imply a connexion of the Breviary with the church of St. Anthony at Cartmel Fell, in Lancashire, which was a dependency of the Augustinian priory of Cartmel.<sup>6</sup> However, the Canons of Cartmel are not known to have followed the Victorine observance. None of the recorded Victorine houses in England has



been found to have particular associations with either St. Anthony or any of the families whose arms appear in the Breviary, nor have the four other churches dedicated to Anthony in England in the Middle Ages<sup>7</sup> connexions with the Victorines or the families in question. A further hypothesis is to connect the manuscript with the Hospitallers of St. Anthony, who were constituted Augustinian Canons in 1297. They had possibly four houses in England, the main one being in London.<sup>8</sup> We may note that in 1397 the brethren of this house received papal authorization to follow the Sarum Use, for as long as they were unable to obtain the liturgical books of their own order,<sup>9</sup> and in 1424 they obtained similar permission to follow the Use of London for the duration of the wars between England and France.<sup>10</sup> At this date the Use of London was presumably equivalent to that of Salisbury, which had been adopted by St. Paul's Cathedral in 1414.<sup>11</sup>

Its size (225 mm. × 145 mm.) places the Penwortham Breviary in the class of 'portable' liturgical books. Such a book with a full musical apparatus is always a rarity and none of the six other surviving Sarum Noted Breviaries could be described as portable.<sup>12</sup> Two of these are in the Museum,<sup>13</sup> but neither is complete, which the Penwortham manuscript virtually is. Moreover, the two pre-1319 Sarum Breviaries without music in the Museum<sup>14</sup> are very imperfect, as are the Museum's four Sarum Antiphonals.<sup>15</sup> The defects in the manuscripts just mentioned make the Penwortham Breviary all the more important, in that it becomes the oldest most perfect witness in the Museum of the texts and music of the Divine Office according to the Use of Salisbury, and of the music by itself the most complete witness of any date.

D. H. TURNER

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Dayman and W. H. R. Jones, *Statuta et Consuetudines Ecclesiae Cathedralis Sarisberien-sis*, Bath, 1883, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> C. Wordsworth, *Tracts of Clement Mayde-stone*, Henry Bradshaw Society, vii, (London, 1894), p. xvi.

<sup>3</sup> Sotheby's sale-catalogue, 10 Dec. 1962, lot 137; Alan G. Thomas, catalogue twelve, 1963, item 1. In the seventeenth century the manuscript belonged to Richard Wroe, Warden of Christ Church, Manchester, 1684-1718 (E. Bernard, *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae*, ii (Oxford, 1697), p. 222, no. 7159). On fol. 209b it has a sixteenth-century ownership inscription of Sir Thomas Lemyng and there is an eighteenth/nineteenth-century bookplate of Le Gendre Pierce Starkie. A Thomas Lemyng was vicar of Croston, Lancashire, in 1559 (*Victoria County History, Lancashire*, ii (1908), p. 50) and the Starkie in question was presumably the Le Gendre Pierce Nicholas Starkie, of Huntroyde,

Lancashire (d. 1807), by a descendant of whom the manuscript was sent to the sale-room.

<sup>4</sup> Dayman and Jones, op. cit., p. 68.

<sup>5</sup> *Victoria County History, Lancashire*, ii (1908), pp. 104-6.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., viii (1914), pp. 283-5.

<sup>7</sup> 'St. Antholin' (St. Anthony by Watling Street), London; Alkham, Kent; St. Anthony-in-Meneage; and St. Anthony-in-Roseland, Cornwall.

<sup>8</sup> The other houses were at Hereford and York, and possibly Winchelsea (see D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, London, 1953, pp. 276, 287, 318, 323).

<sup>9</sup> *Calendar of Papal Registers, Papal Letters*, v, (London, 1904), p. 4.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., vii, 1906, p. 373.

<sup>11</sup> *Historical MSS. Commission, Ninth Report*, Appendix 1, London, 1883, p. 52. The episcopal ordinance for the adoption of the Sarum Use in



St. Paul's excepts sixteen specified days, and observes that previously the old Use of St. Paul's had been generally followed in the choir of the cathedral, and the Sarum Use outside the choir.

<sup>12</sup> For details of these and Sarum Antiphonals of the Office see W. H. Frere, *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, Introduction, Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, London, 1923, pp. 77-82.

<sup>13</sup> Harley MS. 4958 (later thirteenth century), Add. MS. 34247 (mid-fifteenth century).

<sup>14</sup> Royal MS. 18 B. iii (later thirteenth century), Add. MS. 22397 (c. 1300).

<sup>15</sup> Add. MS. 28598 (later thirteenth century), Add. MS. 17002, Lansdowne MSS. 461, 463 (these last three manuscripts are of the fifteenth century).

## COINS FROM THE COLLECTION OF C. J. RICH

IN a recent number of *B.M.Q.*<sup>1</sup> Mr. J. R. Fawcett Thompson devoted an interesting article to an account of Claudius James Rich, East India Company's Resident in Baghdad during the early nineteenth century, and the formation of his great collection of oriental manuscripts. The aim of the present article is to supplement this by giving an account of some of the coins from Rich's collection, which was bought for the museum in 1825 along with his manuscripts and other antiquities.

The only inventory of Rich's coins which exists is that which his brother-in-law, William Erskine, included in a list of the manuscripts and antiquities, probably drawn up after Rich's death. This inventory is unfortunately very summary, and moreover no detailed registration of the coins was, apparently, ever made after their accession. Thus to reconstitute Rich's collection in detail would clearly be quite impossible, and even where the lamentably vague descriptions by Erskine do chance to contain some clinching detail it often transpires that no corresponding specimen now in the collection has a ticket indicating that it came from Rich. Nevertheless, a certain number of specimens can be traced with confidence, and we can get from Erskine's list a tolerable idea of the general contents. The list contains, firstly, a substantial number of 'Cufic' coins, evidently mostly of the early Muslim dynasties: these are followed by Sassanian coins. Next come Greek coins, mainly of the near-eastern Hellenistic kingdoms. After this, a large number of Parthian coins: and finally Roman, with over a hundred of the republic as well as coins of the empire down to early Byzantine times, and including a number of gold pieces. Specific find-spots are only named in connexion with some of the Greek coins, and we do not know for certain that all the rest were collected in Mesopotamia (which seems unlikely in the case of the Roman republican items) although the general composition of the collection strongly suggests it.

In the selection of pieces which are here illustrated on Plate xxv, most certainly came from Rich, or from John Hine, who was his surgeon in Baghdad and who evidently shared Rich's collecting interests. Most of those illustrated are either Greek or Greek-derived, and these will be further discussed below. Here we

may indicate, in passing, a rare gold stater of Rhodes, of c. 150 B.C., showing the radiate head of Helios and, on the reverse, a rose with the name of the issuing official, Antaios, above. The British Museum has two specimens, of which one is shown on Plate xxv. 8. Now it so happens that Erskine listed among Rich's Greek coins two gold specimens which answer to this description, but misreading the name as Antarios and without realizing that they were coins of Rhodes. There is no ticket with our two specimens, but we have no grounds for not believing that they are indeed the two that came from Rich. As samples of the other classes of coins represented in Rich's collection, we may instance an interesting Roman republican denarius minted in Gaul by Marcus Antonius in 42 B.C., with his own head on the reverse, and the head of the dead dictator Julius Caesar on the obverse (Pl. xxv. 7). Two Islamic pieces which are certainly from Rich's collection are shown on Plate xxv. 11, 12: the first is a gold dinar of the Abbasid Caliph Harun-el-Rashid dated A.H. 191 (= A.D. 806), the second another gold dinar minted for Al Muktaḍir at Al-Ahwaz in A.H. 314 (= A.D. 926).

From the point of view of the contribution which they make to numismatics, the more important among Rich's Greek coins are those derived from two hoards discovered in Mesopotamia during his time. The first of these was a find of silver coins from the banks of the Tigris about forty miles below Ctesiphon.<sup>2</sup> The coins in Rich's collection which came from this hoard were listed by Erskine as follows:

- 4 Athenian—owl and olive—*Rev.* Minerva's head.
- 1 indented.
- 7 indented—owl—*Rev.* Man flying on a horse.
- 1 chariot and horses.
- 1 Thracian—a team—*Rev.* Crossed square.
- 1 Prow of a vessel—(oval shaped).
- 1 indented—*Rev.* illegible.
- 1 indented—three legs—*Rev.* illegible.
- 1 Head—*Rev.* Prow of a galley. Ins. Proxemus.

Of these, some of the specimens have long been recognized in the Museum's collection. The 'Thracian' is a north-Greek silver octodrachm of Getas king of the Edoni, dating from about 500 B.C. (Pl. xxv. 2). Another specimen, also from the Tigris hoard, was obtained by the Museum from Hine (Pl. xxv. 1, see below).<sup>3</sup> The 'chariot and horses' coin is a double-shekel of Sidon (Pl. xxv. 3), of which again another specimen was obtained from Hine (Pl. xxv. 4): these date from the later fifth century B.C.<sup>4</sup> The Athenian coins have not been specifically identified in the collection, but must evidently have been of the common fifth-century type of which quantities are found in the near east.<sup>5</sup> Further pieces can also be identified. The 'owl—*Rev.* Man flying on a horse' is clearly the coin-type



of Tyre,<sup>6</sup> and one of the coins of this type, it was recently discovered, is accompanied by a Rich ticket (Pl. xxv. 6). Then the description 'three legs' suggests the triskelis symbol so frequent on coins of Lycia, and here too a Rich ticket was recently found to accompany the mid-fifth-century coin of the dynast UĀLĀ<sup>7</sup> (Pl. xxv. 5). The only other item identifiable from Erskine's list is the last, which cannot be anything except a fourth-century coin of Kios in Bithynia, as shown on Plate xxv. c: in this case, however, we do not appear to have Rich's specimen, as all those now in the British Museum are ticketed as from other sources. Yet the Rich coin must have been of identical type, and it is interesting to know that a coin of so late a date—in fact of c. 335 B.C.<sup>8</sup>—came from the Tigris hoard, which some authorities have dated appreciably too early. As we shall see below, some of those who have mentioned this hoard imply that it was buried much later.<sup>9</sup>

C. J. Rich himself, in his *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan*, ii (published 1836), pp. 162–3, wrote of this hoard:

We afterwards came to Humeinya, on the right bank: ruins were still visible, seemingly a continuation of those of Zoweiya. It was on one of the mounds cut down by the river hereabouts, that the great treasure was found in Abdullah Pasha's time, consisting of immense quantities of ingots of silver, coins of the Macedonian sovereigns before Alexander, Athenian drachms, and silver Persian coins before Alexander [some of which, forming part of Mr. Rich's collection, are now in the British Museum.—Editor's footnote].

The circumstances of the find, and the unfortunate fact that only a few of the specimens were saved, also emerge clearly from a letter which Hine wrote to Dr. Noehden of the British Museum in 1825:

It seems to me wonderful that these coins should have been so little injured considering that they must have been in the bed of the river Tigris for ages, probably before the commencement of the Muslim era. [!] The course of the river changing a little, as it often does in the vicinity of Baghdad, exposed to the eyes of an Arab the vessel in question, and the local government getting to a knowledge of the circumstance, seized the treasure and ordered it to be melted and rendered available. The Jew employed on the work, and who was our own banker, saved a few from the fire, which he brought to me, one of which I gave to Mr Rich. Among the others was the coin which is now in your hands. [This is a reference to the coin of Getas, mentioned above.]

Further references to the Tigris hoard occur in the work of James Silk Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia*, ii (1827), pp. 400 ff., in the course of describing his visit to Rich at Baghdad in August 1816. The date of this visit incidentally shows that the hoard had been discovered earlier than 1818, the date usually given for its discovery. Buckingham writes of his enforced leisure while convalescing from an illness, during which time he studied Rich's collection:

Among the coins were a number of silver ones that had been dug up in an urn on the banks of the Tigris, which were obtained with difficulty by Mr Rich, as the Pasha wished to conceal



the fact of treasure having been found in his dominions, from a fear that its amount would be exaggerated by the time the news reached Constantinople, and a demand of restitution from the Sultan might follow, as all treasure found in this way is his legal right. These coins included Athenian, Samian and Corinthian, with several of Alexander and Antiochus. There were also others of silver bearing on one side a turretted fortress with two lions underneath it, and on the reverse a figure about to stab the unicorn, so frequently represented in the Persepolitan sculptures, so that these coins were most probably of that place.

Later on pp. 407 f., Buckingham writes:

The silver coins found buried on the banks of the Tigris included some which had on one side a sea-horse and over it, as if on the surface of the sea, an old Greek galley, filled with armed men with helmets and shields: the design of the reverse was quite unintelligible. On others were, on one side, an owl with hawk's legs; and on the other, a bearded figure driving a pair of horses in the sea, as if emblematic of Minerva and Neptune. Others, again, had on one side a castle; and on the other, a beautiful chariot and pair of horses, with two figures, a warrior and a charioteer, as in the sculptures at the cave of Beit el Waali above the cataracts of the Nile, in Nubia.

A further brief mention of the hoard was made by Sir Robert Ker Porter, in his *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia and Ancient Babylonia*, ii (London, 1822), pp. 421-2. He was certainly thinking of the same group of coins, for he even illustrates the one shown on our Plate xxv. 4, which we know to be from the hoard mentioned by Rich and Hine. But Ker Porter evidently was misinformed as to the place of finding, as he thought the hoard was from the Euphrates near Babylon. He speculates as to whether the castle shown on the large coins (of Sidon) may represent Babylon itself. He also speaks of the coins being discovered 'with several of Alexander and his successors', in corroboration of Buckingham's account.

In summarizing the information we have about the hoard, we may perhaps first remark that the correct attribution of the coins of Sidon was not known until the end of the nineteenth century: so that it is not surprising that Rich and his contemporaries were unaware of the true origin of the large double-shekels (Pl. xxv. 3, 4), described by Erskine as 'chariot and horses' merely, and in greater detail, mentioning the castle on the other side, by Buckingham and Porter. If the latter could think of the castle as representing Babylon, Buckingham, as we have seen above, speculated that Persepolis might be the origin of the coin whose reverse he describes as 'figure about to stab the unicorn' (Pl. xxv. A),<sup>10</sup> albeit it is a lion and not a unicorn that the figure is stabbing. We need not here enter into speculation as to whether the figure in question, and indeed the one who is riding in the chariot on the larger coin, is really, as is usually supposed, the King of Persia. In any case both the larger and smaller of the coins, now securely attributed to Sidon, were represented in the Tigris hoard. And in the second passage quoted above from Buckingham we may recognize another type of



Phoenician coin, that of Byblus ('sea-horse' and 'old Greek galley'): a glance at the *B.M. Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks*, pl. 51. 7, shows a beautiful example of the type, whose reverse is a lion-and-bull group. Buckingham's next descriptions are again of coins of Tyre and Sidon.

The mints represented in the hoard, then, according to the information collected above, are: Athens, the Edoni (Getas), Lycia, Samos, Corinth, Kios, Byblos, Tyre, Sidon, Persia, also Alexander and Antiochus (?). The last mentioned must remain vague, but must surely mean one of the first kings named Antiochus, of Syria: probably of the third century B.C. Although vague, there seems no reason to reject this information. It is already clear that the Tigris hoard was of a rather more varied character than was hitherto supposed, making all due allowance for the uncertainties which must necessarily surround the whole matter. The bulk of the coins would seem to have been of the fifth to fourth centuries B.C., the Getas pieces being the earliest, at about 500 B.C. or shortly after, and the latest—apart from Alexander and his successors—being that of Kios, of c. 335 B.C. There may well be a temptation to think that coins of Alexander and later are unlikely to have come from one and the same hoard as the fifth- and fourth-century specimens. But even this is not at all impossible, if we recall the parallel which is provided by the treasure of the Oxus: the unity of that hoard has sometimes been disputed, but has more recently been defended,<sup>12</sup> and its coverage is even wider than that of the Tigris hoard, as it ranges from the early fifth to the early second century B.C. If the mention of coins of Alexander and Antiochus from the Tigris find is reliable, we have to envisage that the treasure was not buried before the third century B.C.

The fact that, in the case of the Tigris hoard, coins of the northern Greek mainland were discovered in so distant a spot as Mesopotamia is remarkable but not exceptional. Among numismatists who have studied the currency of Greek coins in the area of the Achaemenid empire, E. S. G. Robinson<sup>13</sup> gives a detailed discussion of such finds, in publishing specifically a 'silversmith's hoard' from Babylonia which consisted, like the Tigris hoard, of both coins and silver ingots and fragments. The whole question has also been reviewed by D. Schlumberger in connexion with a hoard, consisting largely of Greek coins, from near Kabul in Afghanistan.<sup>14</sup> Here we need only remark that coins of the same king Getas of the Edoni, similar to those from the Tigris, have been unearthed at other times in the region of the Euphrates, as well as in Syria near Antioch:<sup>15</sup> and a specimen of similar type acquired by the Museum in 1948 also came from 'la haute Syrie'.<sup>16</sup> It is useful to quote Robinson's concluding remarks, from the article cited above, that 'coined silver treated as bullion was a staple export of Greece to the Persian empire, into which it penetrated, early and deep, from the time of Darius I onwards'.

The second of the coin hoards represented by extant coins from the Rich



collection is the one mentioned by Hill in *B.M.C. Arabia, Mesopotamia, Persia*, p. cxcv, a selection of the specimens appearing in the catalogued collection, *ibid.*, pp. 301–9, esp. 305 ff. It is nowhere explicitly stated that the 500 or so coins concerned did indeed come from a hoard, but it is, as Hill states, a reasonable deduction from their appearance, and it is difficult to understand how anyone could have accumulated so many of these almost identical coins if they did not come from such a source. They are all late base-metal coins of the kingdom of Characene, situated around the head of the Persian gulf, and were almost all apparently of a single type: on the obverse a king wearing regalia of the Parthian style, on the reverse another head accompanied by an Aramaic inscription whose interpretation as 'Maga son of Athabaios' was provisionally accepted by Hill. The head on the reverse has the hair done in a characteristic set of heavy rolls which recall somewhat the style of earlier portraits of Characenian kings: but the style is much rougher and cruder. A specimen is illustrated on Plate xxv. 9. As Hill says (*op. cit.*, p. ccx), the coins in question may be dated at any time between the end of the older Greek-inscribed series of Characenian coins, which came at the time of Trajan's invasion of Mesopotamia (A.D. 116), and the invasion of Ardeshir I in A.D. 224. It is almost impossible to decide, on present evidence, whether these coins belong to the earlier or later part of this period—and in particular whether they are before or after the issue made by a certain Meredates in A.D. 142, whose Greek-inscribed coins, designated as 'sub-Characenian' by Hill, were certainly minted in this same region. The comparative crudity of the style of the Maga coins gives the impression that they cannot be much, if at all, earlier than those of Meredates.<sup>17</sup> This impression may perhaps be strengthened by comparing the Maga coins with the main types of tetradrachm minted for the Parthian kings at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris during the second century A.D.: of course, close comparisons are hardly possible, but the style of the Maga coins, for what such indications are worth, does seem to have rather more in common with the Parthian Volagases III (A.D. 148–92) than with Volagases II in the earlier part of the century (his revised dates as given by McDowell are A.D. 105–48).<sup>18</sup> Again, it might be argued that the use of Aramaic script on the Maga coins should be a sign of late date, as compared with the undoubted use of Greek script in A.D. 142. If these considerations are taken into account, it seems on balance more probable that Maga is to be dated to the later part of the century.

The interest of this Characenian hoard and its possible date is, however, more than purely local. As Hill discovered when sorting through the Rich coins at the time when he was working on the *B.M.C. Arabia, &c.* (pp. cxcv–cxvi), there were, among the mass of the Maga coins, three hitherto unidentified specimens, of about the same general size and shape, but emanating from the Kushan empire of north-west India. These, then, must have formed part of the same deposit which consisted largely of the coins of Maga. In view of the fact that the



dating of the Kushans is still a major problem, and also in view of the fact that coins of the Kushans are hardly ever found outside their own territories,<sup>19</sup> it is worth considering what evidence, if any, is provided by the Rich hoard. The three Kushan coins are: (1) Vima Kadphises;<sup>20</sup> (2) Kanishka, of an unpublished type as described by Hill (obverse: Kushan king standing, reverse: the goddess Ardochsho seated: Pl. xxv. 10); (3) another coin of Kanishka (and not, as Hill stated, of Huvishka) with the reverse type of Ochsho.<sup>21</sup> The Vima coin is rather more worn than the two Kanishka specimens, and these two are in roughly comparable condition to the Characenian coins, which suggests that they are not widely different in date. In view of what we have said about the probable date of the Characenian coins of Maga, we may at least say that this hoard, as far as it goes, tends to give some support to those who advocate a fairly late date for Kanishka—e.g. Sir John Marshall's view, A.D. 128<sup>22</sup>—rather than those who prefer the earlier date of A.D. 78. More than this it would at present be rash to conclude from the Rich hoard: the latter is, however, a piece of evidence that should be kept in mind for its possible bearing on the Kushan problem in the event of closer dating evidence for the later coins of Characene ever being brought to light.

G. K. JENKINS

*Note:* I am grateful to my colleague Mrs. J. S. Martin for her kind assistance in tracing literature relating to Rich's coins, and also to Dr. R. D. Barnett for discussing some details.

<sup>1</sup> *B.M.Q.* xxvii, 1-2, pp. 18 ff.

<sup>2</sup> S. P. Noe, *Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*, New York, 1937, no. 1109.

<sup>3</sup> *B.M.C. Macedon*, p. 144, nos. 1-2.

<sup>4</sup> *B.M.C. Phoenicia*, pp. 140-1, nos. 4 and 6.

<sup>5</sup> *B.M. Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks*, pl. 11. 31. For samples of this type from near-eastern sites, we may instance, for example, Al Mina, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1937, pl. ix; Tell el Maskhoutha (Egypt), *ibid.* 1947, pl. v.

<sup>6</sup> *B.M.C. Phoenicia* p. 229, no. 11. Another and more beautiful example of the same type is here illustrated on Pl. xxv. B, from the Babylon hoard published by Robinson in *Iraq*, xii. 18 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *B.M.C. Lycia*, p. 17, no. 80.

<sup>8</sup> G. Le Rider, *Deux trésors de monnaies grecques de la Propontide*, Paris, 1963, pp. 30-42.

<sup>9</sup> D. Schlumberger, 'L'argent grec dans l'Empire achéménide' (in Curiel and Schlumberger, *Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan*, Paris 1953), p. 11 (première moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle).

<sup>10</sup> Illustrated from the specimen in Naville sale xii. 2006 (Geneva, 1926).

<sup>11</sup> Both figures are described, for example by

Hill in *B.M.C. Phoenicia*, as the King of Persia. Recently, however, the similar figure riding in a chariot on the later double-shekels of Sidon (as *B.M. Guide*, pl. 20. 57) has been convincingly identified by Seyrig as the Ba'al of Sidon, followed on foot by the King of Sidon as his acolyte (*Syria*, xxxvi (1959), pp. 52 ff.).

<sup>12</sup> Schlumberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 46 ff.; also A. R. Bellinger, in *Museum Notes* (American Numismatic Society), x (1962), pp. 51 ff.

<sup>13</sup> In *Iraq*, xii. 18 ff. <sup>14</sup> Cf. n. 9 above.

<sup>15</sup> E. Babelon, *Journal international d'archéologie numismatique*, 1898, p. 5; Noe, no. 55.

<sup>16</sup> Described and illustrated in *B.M.Q.* xv (1941-50), p. 49 and pl. xix. 15.

<sup>17</sup> *B.M.C. Arabia*, *etc.*, pp. 310 ff. and introduction, pp. ccx ff.

<sup>18</sup> Volagases II, *B.M.C. Parthia*, pl. xxxii: Volagases III, ditto, pl. xxxiv. For the revised dating of the former, see R. H. McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris*, Michigan, 1935.

<sup>19</sup> The only other instance appears to be a rumoured find of Kushan coins from Ethiopia, but it has not been possible to trace details of this.

<sup>20</sup> *B.M.C. Indian Coins*, Greek and Scythic Kings, pl. xxv. 12.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxvii. 7.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. recently, A. D. H. Bivar, 'The Kanishka Dating from Surkh Kotal', in *B.S.O.A.S.* xxvi (1963), pp. 488 ff.

## A GREEK SILVER HEAD-VASE

A FRAGMENTARY Greek silver-gilt head-vase of exceptional interest was recently acquired by the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities.<sup>1</sup> When the fragments of the vessel first came to the Museum they were covered with a thick corrosion which obscured almost all the detail (Pls. xxvi*a* and xxviii*a*) and no attempt had been made to join them together. A temporary joining was carried out in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, and later, before the vase was acquired, the owners gave their permission for one fragment to be electrolytically cleaned in the Research Laboratory to discover the state of the metal beneath the corrosion. After the purchase, all the fragments were cleaned<sup>2</sup> by Mr. D. W. Akehurst of the Greek and Roman Department under the supervision of the Research Laboratory, whose staff also conducted a technical examination of the fragments. Mr. Akehurst then rejoined the fragments as far as possible. As a result, the original form and decoration of the vase can be established and several details of outstanding interest have been revealed.

### GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The vessel (Pls. xxvi–xxviii) is a Janiform head-cup or *kantharos* in the form of two heads back-to-back. The heads are surmounted by a tall ovoid cylindrical neck, splayed out at the top, and were set on a high foot in the form of a hollow cylinder similarly splayed out at the bottom. The neck was decorated with figured reliefs and the rim with a decorated ovolo moulding; the stem was plain with a moulded foot-rim. Only the upper parts of the two heads remain. One of these, a diademed head, survives to the bottom of the nose; of the second head only the head-dress and part of the hair remain. A large piece of the neck of the vase has been preserved, including a short stretch of the rim. Small fragments of the high foot are left and one of these gives the complete profile (Pl. xxviii*c*). Originally the cup was equipped with two, probably tubular, handles at the sides, and the recesses in the shape of a thumb-nail where the lower ends of these handles were soldered on can be seen between the heads (Pl. xxvi*b*); there are also slight depressions on the neck of the vase where the upper ends were soldered (Pl. xxviii*a*). There would probably have been some sort of ornamental soldering plate fitting into the thumb-nail recesses. The general form of the missing parts can be reconstructed by analogy with clay examples of this type of vase<sup>3</sup> but without the lower



parts of the heads, the exact form and dimensions cannot be established. The total surviving height of the main group of fragments is 15.8 cm. and the height of the foot fragment is 7 cm.

#### THE HEADS (PLS. XXVI, XXVII, AND XXVIIIa)

The better preserved of the two heads wears a narrow diadem decorated on the front with alternately large and small rosettes and edged with beading. There are also little punched crosses irregularly placed between the rosettes. Below the diadem the hair frames the forehead in a double row of tight 'snail-shell' curls on either side of a central parting; above the diadem the hair is combed forward and lies in gentle waves. The face is narrow, the eyes large and close-set with strongly arching brows. The hair on the eyebrows is indicated by herring-bone chasing with gilding over it, and the eyelashes are effectively suggested by a heavy grooved frame round the eye-socket. The inlay for the eyes now consists of a piece of opaque white glass filling the left eye-socket and fragments of similar glass in the right socket with the chased detail of iris and pupil exposed on the back. The original character of the inlay is discussed in the technical section below (p. 101). The bridge of the nose is narrow and straight; the nostrils wide. The right ear only is preserved and is shown partly concealed by curls. On the large lobe there is a depression which may be meant to suggest a piercing for ear-rings.

The second head is much less well preserved, consisting only of the top of the head and some of the hair. The head wears a so-called Phrygian cap or *tiara* of soft material with long narrow side-flaps and a wider back-flap which dies into the back of the other head. The surface of the cap is dotted with little rosettes and edged with a wavy line; a central seam running through the top-knot has a similar wavy line running down it. The forehead hair is dressed like that of the other head with a double row of rather larger 'snail-shell' curls. A single waved tress issues from below the back-flap of the head-dress and may perhaps be thought of as common to both heads.

The identification of the two heads presents a problem. They are presumably more than just an oriental and a woman, popular as orientals are *per se* in the art of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.<sup>4</sup> As the Judgement of Paris is represented on the reliefs on the neck, the interpretation as Paris and Helen immediately springs to mind—Paris as an oriental, Helen as a Greek princess. Paris and Aphrodite is just possible. There is another alternative which, although it is less likely, is perhaps worth discussing in greater detail, namely that the heads represent Attis and Cybele.

Of the various myths of Attis, that which makes him a Phrygian shepherd beloved by Cybele is one of the earliest and best known,<sup>5</sup> and the Phrygian cap is a standard detail of his later iconography. Cybele in her Hellenized form, as



she appears in a relief of the first half of the fourth century from Peiraeus in Berlin, wears a diadem.<sup>6</sup> Her iconography had probably been established in the late fifth century by the statue in the Metroon at Athens ascribed to Pheidias or his pupil Agoracritus.<sup>7</sup> Later on she acquires a modius and then a turreted crown.

There is, of course, no other Greek representation of Attis as early as this nor, indeed, is there any suggestion that Attis was associated in the worship of the Great Mother when it was first accepted in Greece.<sup>8</sup> But it must be remembered that the vessel was fairly certainly made in Anatolia (see p. 99) where Attis and Cybele had long been worshipped as a divine couple stemming from a single androgynous divinity, and in fact we find Janiform associations of a male and a female deity on coins of Tenedos from the sixth century onwards.<sup>9</sup> In these circumstances a Janiform association of Attis and Cybele is not impossible.

Whatever may be the right interpretation of the two heads, the 'snail-shell' hair style seems to require explanation. The connexion with the *tettix*<sup>10</sup> is difficult to defend, but the style is certainly an archaizing feature which might seem particularly appropriate to mythological characters. The fact that both heads wear the same hair dressing is perhaps in favour of the interpretation as Attis and Cybele. In the Hellenistic period it is worn by women and androgynous beings<sup>11</sup> and Attis' place among the ἀμφιβόλοι θεοί might be suggested by the detail. It is interesting that in the fourth century a more formal version occurs on a number of heads from the Mausoleum, including the so-called Artemisia,<sup>12</sup> and from Priene.<sup>13</sup>

#### THE RELIEFS ON THE NECK (PLS. XXVI-XXVIII)

The reliefs on the neck of the vase represent the Judgement of Paris. Above the head of Cybele the major parts of two figures are preserved; they are Athena on the left and Aphrodite on the right (Pl. xxvii b). They sit on a suggestion of rocky ground, their legs extended in opposite directions and the upper part of their bodies facing the front, in a rather awkward proximity that perhaps conveys the rivalry between them. Athena rests her left hand and Aphrodite her right on the ground between them; the two hands almost touch. Aphrodite keeps her left hand across her lap while Athena extends her right arm, bent at the elbow, to grasp the shaft of her spear near the top. Most of the heads are missing; part of Aphrodite's face and the long tresses of hair on her left side still survive, and the crest of Athena's helmet together with her right hand and forearm grasping the spear may be seen on another fragment which joins the main fragment at a touch and for that reason is not at present fitted to it (Pl. xxviii b). Athena wears a peplos with long overfold girt at the waist, a scale aegis with snake border, and a bracelet low on her left forearm. The border of the peplos is patterned with dots and zigzags and the detail is gilded. Aphrodite wears a sleeveless chiton pinned at the shoulders which she has skilfully arranged to leave her right breast exposed.



A himation is drawn across the lower part of her body and brought up behind to veil her head. She wears a necklace, and bracelets on both forearms.

Paris was shown to the right of the two goddesses in profile looking towards them. Very little of him still survives—his lower legs with the chequered trousers of his rich Phrygian costume, and part of his right hand with the pair of spears he held. His hound sits by his feet on his right, ears erect and looking in the same direction as his master.

Almost nothing is left of the other figures in the scene. On the extreme left end of the fragment with the crest and right forearm of Athena are the remains of a winged cap certainly belonging to the god Hermes, who is usually present in the Judgement scene.<sup>14</sup> Some drapery and a foot above the Phrygian cap would seem to belong to the third goddess, Hera. It is difficult to see how Hermes and Hera were placed in relation to one another from these very slight remains.

#### THE INSCRIPTIONS (PLS. XXIX a-c)

On the background by the figures of Athena, Aphrodite, and Paris there are pointillé inscriptions in Lycian letters, which are clearly intended to identify the characters by name. The inscriptions are enclosed in areas of gilding; the reading of the letter forms is certain. The inscription by the figure of Aphrodite is complete and reads  $\Gamma\uparrow\Delta\text{PET}\uparrow$ ; the word  $\uparrow\Lambda\text{E}\downarrow\text{SS}[\downarrow]$  by Paris is incomplete, lacking the final letters. Only three letters  $\text{M}\uparrow\Lambda$  survive from the name accompanying the figure of Athena.

These three words add a little to the knowledge of Lycian.  $\Gamma\uparrow\Delta\text{PET}\uparrow$  (Pedreta) is clearly cognate with the Greek word for the goddess. What appears to be the same word in related, but not identical, forms occurs three times in other published Lycian texts,<sup>15</sup> but does not seem to have been interpreted before as Aphrodite.

$\text{M}\uparrow\Lambda$  (Mal) must be the first three letters of the word  $\text{M}\uparrow\Lambda\text{E}\uparrow\uparrow$  the only known Lycian word with this opening combination of letters and one which occurs several times in published Lycian texts.<sup>16</sup> The most significant occurrence is on the well-known inscribed pillar from Xanthos in a passage referring to the setting up of a *stele* or *stelai*, presumably, on this new evidence, in honour of Maleia and other divinities. There is a confirming reference to Athena in a hexameter line of the two-verse epigram in Greek which seems to be giving a resumé of the contents of the pillar.

$\uparrow\Lambda\text{E}\downarrow\text{SS}[\downarrow]$  (Aleksk) is incomplete. A variant  $\uparrow\Lambda\uparrow\text{VSS}[\uparrow\Xi]\text{TP}\uparrow$ , occurring on another Lycian inscription,<sup>17</sup> has already been interpreted as the Lycian equivalent for Alexander.

The fact that a version of the word Alexander rather than the word Paris is used in Lycian is interesting and may perhaps bear on the problem of the

origin of the dual name.<sup>18</sup> It would argue against the idea that Paris is the Anatolian name and Alexander the Greek version and in favour of the theory that the double name represents a conflation of two characters—a Dardanian Paris and an Alexander of southern Asia Minor. On the other hand, since Alexandros is by far the commoner usage in the classical period, this may simply be a transliteration of the Greek word.

#### THE USE AND NAME OF THE VESSEL

There are two main types of head-vase known from the classical period—two-handled cups and one-handled jugs. Janiform cups were fairly common and Janiform jugs rare. These head-vases were made in pottery from the late sixth century B.C. onwards; they were not particularly popular in the second half of the fifth but came into their own again about 400. Our vessel seems to be the only surviving example of a double head-vase made of precious metal, but for a long time the Greeks had been making expensive metal versions of clay vases for the barbarians on the fringes of the Greek world, even when fear of *hubris* prevented their use in Greece, and when this vase was made domestic silver was coming into general use and most clay shapes had their counterparts in silver and gold. It may, therefore, be nothing more than an expensive domestic vessel, for show perhaps rather than for use.

On the other hand, if our vase represents two deities associated in cult, it is not unlikely that it served as a ritual vessel in the cult of the two deities represented or was dedicated at their sanctuary. The Janiform vases of clay often associate two personages connected with one another, e.g. Dionysus and Ariadne, a satyr and a maenad, or of antithetic appearance, e.g. a negro and a woman, but gods and goddesses do not generally appear on them. Their presence would argue a more serious purpose. A ritual use has already been suggested for the expensive collection of gold rhytons and head-vases in the rather later Thracian hoard of Panagyurishte.<sup>19</sup>

We do not know the ancient name for this vase. In the surviving inventories of Greek Temple-Treasures there does not seem to be any clearly recognizable reference to such a vessel. The incomplete word δ[ι]κέφαλα in a fragmentary line of a Delian inventory of silver plate<sup>20</sup> may refer to a vase of this type; and since the words φιάλη ἐν ἐλάφου προτομῇ in another Delian inventory<sup>21</sup> suggest that the word φιάλη was sometimes used for rhyta and head-vases one wonders whether φιάλη ἐκτυπα ἔχουσα Περσῶν πρόσωπα and similar expressions might not sometimes refer to head-vases rather than relief-phialai as they are usually interpreted.

#### STYLE AND DATE

The presence of Lycian inscriptions on the vase argues that it was made for a Lycian, and probably in Lycia. It was surely made by a Greek. The closest



parallel for the style and technique is the well-known hind's-head rhyton from Taranto in Trieste,<sup>22</sup> which is usually dated about 400 and has been thought of as Attic or South Italian work. The details that immediately strike one as being very similar on the two vessels are the rim moulding of ovolo and beading and the treatment of the eyes. There are striking similarities, too, in the reliefs. On the Trieste rhyton the seated female figure holding up her veil and resisting (?) the attentions of the bearded male is very like the Aphrodite of the head-vase. One notes especially the way in which her drapery is arranged to expose one breast, and the whole treatment of the drapery folds and the chased ornamental detail are closely comparable on the two vases.

It is clearly arguable that the two vases come from the same school. The Trieste rhyton is more likely to be Attic than South Italian, especially if the subject is Attic, as has been claimed.<sup>23</sup> Our head-vase is very unlikely to be South Italian. The style is not easy to define in terms of date and place, but is common to many parts of the Aegean world around 400 and later. On the whole, our vase is best explained as the work of an Attic craftsman in Lycia, some time after 400 B.C.

#### LATER HISTORY

According to the vendors, the vase was acquired from a dealer in Cairo, who said it had belonged to the Tell el-Maskhuta hoard. There is no reason to doubt the statement and, indeed, it receives clear confirmation from the fact that one small fragment of silver which came to the Museum with the rest proved on cleaning not to belong to the head-vase but to a phiale of the type represented in the Tell el-Maskhuta hoard of silver, most of which is now in the Brooklyn Museum.<sup>24</sup>

The Treasure of Pithom (Tell el-Maskhuta) appeared in rather mysterious circumstances. In 1947 the antique market in Cairo was flooded with coins, estimated at between five and ten thousand, known as Athena tetradrachms. The evidence suggested that they had been found in the Eastern Delta together with silver vessels and other ornaments, though in fact there is no scientific proof that the coins and the other objects were found together. The story is that the whole find was made in an underground chamber of a shrine dedicated to the north Arab goddess Alat. There is no absolute agreement as to the date of the coins,<sup>25</sup> but the first half of the fourth century seems most probable and this agrees well with the date proposed for the vase on other grounds.

The silver plate from Tell el-Maskhuta has strong Achaemenid connexions and some of the pieces have Aramaic inscriptions. None of it is obviously of Greek manufacture.<sup>26</sup> If we accept the association of the head-vase with the hoard it is interesting to speculate on the historical circumstances by which it reached Egypt. The link would seem to be provided by the Persian Empire. A Persian

official might have obtained it from Lycia, at any time in the first half of the fourth century, but Egypt was independent of the Persian Empire from 405 to 343 and therefore, the vase ought to have arrived in Egypt before the first date or after the second. 405 B.C. is rather early for the Tell el-Maskhuta coins (and for the vase); 343 is rather late.

#### SOME TECHNICAL DETAILS

The vase was examined in the British Museum Research Laboratory and the results set out in a Report dated 6 November 1963; the following notes were adapted from that Report.

(a) *Metal analysis.* A spectrographic analysis of the metal showed that the vase was made from an alloy of silver and copper, free from any other metal except perhaps traces of lead and iron. The alloy contains  $2.5 \pm 0.3$  per cent. copper. The incrustation on the surface of the fragments when they came to the Museum was shown to consist of silver chloride incorporating fragments of quartz.

(b) *Technique of manufacture.* After the removal of the silver chloride the underlying surface of the metal was revealed as having a marked dendritic structure which is the usual characteristic of cast metal. It is, therefore, suggested that the vase was first cast in its general shape and finished off by hammering and chasing. Evidence for final chasing and hammering of the surface is clear in many details.

(c) *Gilding.* Spectrographic analysis of a fragment of the gilding on the vessel showed that it was free from any trace of mercury and, therefore, not applied by amalgamation. It is estimated that the leaf used for the gilding was about 0.005 mm. thick.

(d) *Inlay of the eyes.* The detail of the eyes was carefully examined. When the fragments entered the Museum the left eye of the diademed head was filled with a white material and there were fragments of the same white material in the right eye. This material had to be carefully removed to permit the metal to be cleaned. On removal it was discovered that the base of the left eye socket contained a layer of dark powdery material of at least two different shades, a circle in the centre being of darker appearance than the rest (Pl. xxix). The nature of this material, which was shown to consist of three layers, was not established. The white inlay when analysed was revealed as an originally clear soda-lime glass without any lead and containing traces of antimony.<sup>27</sup> From this evidence it may be deduced that the method of rendering the eyes was as follows: the iris and pupil were first chased on the back of the eye socket, coloured inlay, which now survives as the powdery substance, was laid over this, and finally pieces of clear glass were fitted on top to complete the illusion.

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- <sup>1</sup> Registration number 1962, 12-12, 1.
- <sup>2</sup> By electrolytic reduction using formic acid and carbon rod anodes.
- <sup>3</sup> *J.H.S.* xlix (1929), pp. 38-78.
- <sup>4</sup> Beazley in art. cit. (note 3), 39. 'As to the Orientals—it is Orientals everywhere, as we know well enough from Xenophon, at the end of the fifth century and in the fourth.' See also *C.V.A.*, Oxford, III, i, pl. 4, nos. 7 and 8.
- <sup>5</sup> H. Hepding, *Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult*, Giessen, 1903.
- <sup>6</sup> C. Blümel, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Katalog der Sammlung antiker Skulpturen*, iii, no. K 106.
- <sup>7</sup> Pausanias i. 3, 5; Pliny, *N.H.* xxxvi. 16.
- <sup>8</sup> M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, i. 687 ff. and ii. 614 ff.
- <sup>9</sup> A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii. 654 ff. A similar combination appears on coins of Gaza Minoa in the fifth century B.C. (*B.M.C. Palestine*, lxxxiii).
- <sup>10</sup> On this see *Jh.Ö.I.* ix (1906), pp. 75-130; A. Rumpf, 'Tettis' in *Symbola Coloniensia Josepho Kroll sexagenario oblata*, Cologne, 1949; D. Thompson, *Troy, The Terracotta Figures*, Princeton, 1963, p. 39.
- <sup>11</sup> e.g. Eros, G. Kleiner, *Tanagrafiguren*, p. 214.
- <sup>12</sup> *B.M.C. Sculpture* ii, nos. 1001, 1051.
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 1151; Wiegand and Schrader, *Priene*, pp. 155-6.
- <sup>14</sup> For the theme in general, C. Clairmont, *Das Parisurteil in der antiken Kunst*, Zurich, 1951.
- <sup>15</sup> *Tituli Asiae Minoris i, Tituli Lyciae*, 1901, 44 c 50; 44 b 53; 44 c 56.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* 75, 5; 76, 5; 80, 3; 150, 6; 44 c 5, 7; 149, 2 f; 44 a 43; 26, 12.
- <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 29, 4.
- <sup>18</sup> *P.W.* xviii. 2, 1484 ff.
- <sup>19</sup> There is now a very large bibliography on this hoard; see, especially, B. Svoboda and D. Concec, *Neue Denkmäler antiker Toreutik*, Prague, 1956, and I. Venedikov, *The Panagyurishte Gold Treasure*, Sofia, 1961.
- <sup>20</sup> *I.G.* xi (2), 154 B, 51.
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 161 B, 75.
- <sup>22</sup> *Jh.Ö.I.* v. 1902, pp. 112, P. Willeumier, *Le Trésor de Tarente*, Paris, 1930, pl. ix, 60-61.
- <sup>23</sup> C. Picard, *Manuel d'Archéologie Grecque, La Sculpture*, ii. 796-7.
- <sup>24</sup> *Five years of Collecting Egyptian Art 1951-6; Catalogue of an Exhibition held at Brooklyn Museum 11th December 1956-17th March 1959*, no. 51.
- <sup>25</sup> *Num. Chron.* 1947, pp. 15-21; *Bull. de la Soc. Française de Numismatique*, 1948, p. 3; *Rev. Num.* 1949, pp. 27-34.
- <sup>26</sup> *J.N.E.S.* xv (1956), pp. 1-9; *ibid.* xviii (1959), pp. 154-5. For the silver see also *B.S.O.A.S.* xxiv (1961), pp. 189 ff.
- <sup>27</sup> Cf. R. W. Smith and E. V. Sayre 'Compositional Categories of Ancient Glass', in *Science* 133 (1961), pp. 1824-6.

## A CYLINDER FROM ENKOMI

IN examining the Cypriot material from the 1897 Enkomi excavations (for a new catalogue of the gems in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities) it seemed to me that the cylinder, no. 659 in the *Catalogue of Jewellery*, was far more subtle in character than its appearance suggested. The cylinder was found, together with Mycenaean pottery datable to the earlier phases of Late Cypriot II, in tomb 66,<sup>2</sup> near a massive electrum ring, engraved with the likenesses of Amenhotep III and Queen Tyi and dated by Hall to that king's reign.<sup>3</sup> The date of its deposition could therefore be the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C.

It is a handsome jewelled bead of cylindrical shape, gold-capped at each end as many of the Enkomi cylinder-seals are. The core consists of a pale blue stone, in all probability a fine lapis lazuli, for there is an almost complete absence of pyrites; the faint discoloration is probably due to the action of water. The



surface of the stone is not engraved, but served as a core for gold wire applied in two bands of spiral design framed by three bands which were either plaited in gold wire, or possibly built up from separately modelled elements, in which case they were probably intended to represent rows of olive or myrtle leaves arranged chevron-wise. The general effect is that of a cylinder seal with a spiral-form design in two registers. From the lower register all the gold wire is missing save for one or two fragments still adhering to the marginal band which suggest a repetition of the spiral-form design in the upper register. Whether this part of the gold ornamentation was already lost at the time of deposition is not known.

On all counts, as a jewel, it is extremely satisfying. Of good proportions, for since the stone core of the cylinder was not to be engraved but to receive the appliqué ornament, it was made more slender than usual; yet the normal diameter associated with a cylinder of this length is suggested by the appliqué work. The addition of the ornament gives both variety and a sense of lightness while preserving the canon of proportion. The colour of both the gold and the lapis lazuli enhances these effects. Modesty is combined with opulence, a mark of all fine jewels.

One can assume that the motif of the decoration derives from Aegean sources, for not only is the S-spiral true, full, and running, but its interstices, emphasized by the contrasting blue of the underlying stone, form a stylized flower pattern, reminiscent of the blue lotus, the *Nymphaea caerulea*. Comparable running S-spirals on pottery can immediately be called to mind;<sup>4</sup> and in Late Minoan we find the reserved areas formed by the spirals approximating to flowers.<sup>5</sup> Spiral-form designs are also known in Aegean metal-work, occurring both in granular and in repoussé technique. More apposite in the present context, however, is the gold cylinder with applied spirals from Kalathianà, the design of which Evans compares with that on a stone bowl from Tholos B, at Platanos.<sup>6</sup> While the S-spirals on the bowl appear as a result of lateral connexion to form two horizontal bands, their running character is reduced by vertical connexion; so a quadrilateral or overall arrangement results. On the gold cylinder bead from Kalathianà, the S-spirals, being slightly compressed and joined along the axis of the cylinder, appear to constitute a vertical design; moreover because of their elliptical shape and the absence of any border, it is impossible to interpret their interstices as flower-shapes.

Also apposite is the decoration of a class of bronze tripods found at various places in Attica and south Italy.<sup>7</sup> Since these tripods have been thought to have been made in Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age, this suggests the possibility of a geographical connexion with our cylinder besides a formal one. What is of interest is not only that the spiral design had such a long and varied life, but also that when it reappears in the Late Cypriot Bronze Age, it does so in its purest form.<sup>8</sup> Although related to the Late Palace use at Knossos in the Late



Minoan II period, the Late Cypriot Bronze Age spirals are closest to Middle Minoan III examples, and have no connexion with the S-spiral forms of decoration on pottery in Late Minoan III. This may suggest to others, as it does to the writer, a Mycenaean origin for our cylinder. For one of the more interesting phenomena in the passage of styles and motifs from Crete to the mainland is the retention or even the reappearance of mature Middle Minoan motifs in Late Helladic seals or jewels. The fine articulation of the gold work on the cylinder suggests that it was prior to the larger, coarser copying on the Bronze tripods.

One other point is of interest and significance. The cylinder was probably more than a jewel. It makes an impression on clay with the greatest of ease. Nor does it seem that this is by chance. Unlike that of the Kalathianà bead, the motif is framed and the registers divided, as is often the case in cylinders made to be used as seals; moreover, unlike the coils on the Kalathianà cylinder, the curved lines are so carefully spaced that the impression is clear and precise in every detail. It is sometimes forgotten that seal-engraving calls for more than skill in cutting hard stones and a feeling for design; it also requires that the stone should be cut, and the motif planned, in such a way that an impression in the clay is clearly and easily made; for if the cutting is not right the seal will be fouled by the medium. This cylinder, although a jewel, also proves its sphragistic character in a remarkable way (Pl. xxx).

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<sup>1</sup> Walters, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases* i-ii, p. 83, c. 408; p. 89, c. 431; p. 94, c. 467; p. 104, c. 528; p. 113, c. 581; p. 118, c. 609; p. 121, c. 628; p. 126, c. 661; p. 127, c. 666.

<sup>2</sup> *Excavations in Cyprus*, pp. 35, 36, pl. iv. The cylinder B.M.C. no. 121, *ibid.* pl. iv. 743, on grounds of material and style, could also be dated to the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C.

<sup>3</sup> H. R. Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs*, i. 274, no. 2660.

<sup>4</sup> Pendlebury, *Archaeology of Crete*, fig. 11, no. 6; fig. 18, nos. 17-19; fig. 27, no. 5; fig. 36, nos. 1 and 2; fig. 38, no. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Evans, *Palace of Minos*, ii. 469 ff., 486, figs. 291-3; iv. 317 ff., and figs. 260, 261. See also Furtwängler and Lolling, *Das Kuppelgrab bei Menidi*, Tafel III and IV. Derived flower designs in moulded glass.

<sup>6</sup> *Palace of Minos*, ii. 194, fig. 104a and b.

<sup>7</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, xviii (1893), p. 414, Tafel xiv.

<sup>8</sup> A comparison of the spiral-form design on this cylinder with another on a gold finger-ring, no. 278, also from Tomb 66 (*Excavations in Cyprus*, pl. ix) provides a parallel; but if the character of the design on the cylinder is compared with the repoussé spiral designs on the gold diadems from Enkomi on the one hand and with those from the Shaft Graves of Mycenae on the other, it will be seen that the design on the cylinder is closer to the designs from the Shaft Graves than those from Enkomi tombs, e.g. Karo, *Schachtgräber von Mykenai*, Grave III, no. 67, pl. xxi; nos. 53, 54, 55, pl. xx; Grave IV, nos. 234, 278, pl. xxxvi; Grave V, no. 265, pl. lv; nos. 701, 702, 706, pls. lxiv, lxv. Others from Enkomi, *Excavations in Cyprus*, Tomb 19, pl. viii, Tomb 66, pl. ix, have irregularly spaced spirals; those on pl. vii, no. 518, pl. xi, nos. 195, 419, pl. xii, 375, 462 show a misunderstanding of the character and a misuse of the spiral-form design.

## SHORTER NOTICES

*The publication of these shorter notices on recent acquisitions does not preclude a more detailed discussion of the objects in future issues*

### AN INDIAN SCULPTURE RECENTLY ACQUIRED

Marble figure of a Rishi (saint).

India: Rajasthan. Tenth century A.D.

Ht. 31½ in. (Pl. XXXI.)

THIS figure, by general style and material, may be attributed to the Western Indian School of the tenth to the thirteenth century A.D. It is remarkable for its early date within that school, preceding the well-known temple groups in Gujarat and Rajasthan by some fifty years. Most of the surviving sculpture of this period, apart from the large icons, is on a small scale intended to be seen close. A figure of this size is unusual. The rishi (saint), either of the Jain or Hindu religion, carries a flyswitch in the left hand and a rosary in the right. The treatment of beard and winged hair style, the sensitive modelling of the body, and the remarkable characterization of a figure which formed an integral part of medieval Indian society gives this piece an exceptional interest.

### ISLAMIC MANUSCRIPTS

THE Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts has been fortunate enough to acquire an illuminated Persian manuscript of a period and style of illustration not previously represented in the Museum. The manuscript is a fifteenth-century copy of the well-known *Khamṣa* (Five Poems) of the epic poet Nizāmī. It was written in Shiraz in the year 1435-6 by the celebrated calligrapher 'Abd ul-Rahmān ul-Khwarazmī, in a good

Nasta'lik hand. The text is preceded by two ornamental pages of great beauty, and is punctuated by illuminated chapter headings of the finest Shiraz quality. It contains in addition eight miniature paintings which are distinctly unusual in treatment and composition; one of the subjects is unique so far as is known. These miniatures represent a continuation of the first Timurid style of painting at Shiraz under Sultan Iskandar, with tall and elegant figures reminiscent of those in another manuscript of similar date now dispersed among American collections.

The value to the Museum of its new acquisition lies not only in the high quality of the manuscript but in its precise dating, 1435-6. This places it in an important period for the book arts in Persia, the late-Timurid period, which the Persian collections of the Museum, for all their wide range, had not hitherto covered.

Another valuable acquisition is a part of the Koran, one-thirtieth of the whole, written on vellum in remarkably fine large Maghribi script. This manuscript was copied probably in the thirteenth to fourteenth century in Morocco, or possibly in Spain. Preceding the text are two fine ornamental pages, and the remaining folios, although one or two of the outer ones have been slightly damaged, are in exceptionally good condition. Vellum manuscripts of such quality are not often encountered nowadays.

This Koran represents the calligraphic art of Western Islam at its best. It was bequeathed to the Museum by the late Mrs. N. G. MacCarthy.



## GREEK AMPHORA

WITH the aid of funds from the Ready Bequest, the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities has recently purchased a fine early Attic amphora of a type hitherto unrepresented in the collection. The vase is intact apart from minor damage to the foot and is decorated on each side with a horse's head painted in black-figure technique within a square panel reserved in the colour of the clay. The horses have splendidly arched necks and long manes and each wears a halter. Some details are incised and the manes are painted purple, which is also used for the concentric bands on the body, neck, and foot. 'Horse-head amphorae' of this type were made between 600 and 550 B.C. The present example probably dates from the middle of this period.

## A BINDING BY MARIUS-MICHEL, c. 1903

THE Department of Printed Books has recently acquired a fine binding by Marius-Michel, c. 1903. This is in olive morocco, with a floral design executed with onlays of blue, brown, green, and white leather, and

doublures of violet morocco with gold-tooled and onlaid floral borders.

Marius-Michel the younger (1849-1925) was apprenticed to his father as a *doreur* or gilder in 1862 and it was not until 1876 that they founded their own binding firm. Tired of copying designs of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, as had been the invariable practice in the binding trade for the previous forty years, the son introduced his new *flore ornementale* style at the Paris International Exhibition of 1878; although he won a Gold Medal, his new designs were not at first to the taste of the older school of French collectors, but they soon won acceptance and between 1885 and the outbreak of the First World War he was the acknowledged head of the binding profession in France. There has hitherto been no example of his work in the Museum and the gift by Dr. Gordon N. Ray, the biographer of Thackeray, of this typical specimen of his later style showing strong *Art Nouveau* influences is particularly welcome. It covers a copy of *Causerie sur l'art dramatique* by Mme Bartet, the Comédie Française actress, printed in 1903 at the Imprimerie Nationale in an edition of only 100 copies.

# LIST OF ACQUISITIONS

## DEPARTMENT OF MANUSCRIPTS

*Acquisitions, July to December 1963<sup>1</sup>*

- Letters and papers of Maj.-Gen. C. G. Gordon (1833-85). Add. MSS. 51291-312. *Bequeathed by Lt.-Col. Frederick William Moffit, D.S.O.*
- Journal of a tour in the Near East by the Rev. Robert Mosley Master; 1818-19. Copy. Add. MS. 51313.
- Illuminated address to the Earl of Hillsborough on his 21st birthday, from the tenants of his Dundrum and Ballykinler estates; 1865. Add. MS. 51314.
- Correspondence and papers of Sir William Hamilton, Envoy at Naples; 1766-1800. Add. MS. 51315. *Presented by Mrs. Evelyn M. Nightingale.*
- Letters addressed to Ernest Bruce Iwan-Müller, journalist (1853-1910). Add. MS. 51316. *Presented by Capt. Richard Iwan Alexander Sarell, D.S.O., R.N., godson of the recipient.*
- Full score, partly autograph, of the 'London Symphony' by Ralph Vaughan Williams, O.M. Add. MS. 51317 A-D. *Presented by Sir Adrian Boult.*
- Papers of the Fox and allied families (the Holland House Papers); 16th-20th cent. Add. MSS. 51318-52254; Add. Ch. 75522-58; Seals CCI. 49, 50.
- Psalter of Sarum use, executed in England; early 15th cent. Add. MS. 52255. *Presented by Harold Williamson, Esq.*
- Letters from composers, musicians, and others addressed to Edward Clark, composer and conductor employed by the B.B.C.; 20th cent. Add. MSS. 52256, 52257.
- Archives of the Ghost Club; 1882-1936. Add. MSS. 52258-73. *Presented by the Ghost Club through Illtyd B. Nicholl, Esq., in 1938, and previously reserved.*
- Letters addressed to Thomas Pennant, F.R.S., the naturalist; 1760-98. Add. MS. 52274.
- Maps and sketches of the First Afghan War; 19th cent. Add. MS. 52275.
- Correspondence of Lt.-Col. Raymond John Marker, A.D.C. to Lord Kitchener; 1902-11. Add. MSS. 52276-8.
- Diary, &c., of Sir William Trumbull, the diplomatist; 1685-91. Add. MSS. 52279, 52280.
- Papers of Sir Joseph Banks, F.R.S. (1743-1820). Add. MS. 52281.
- Letters and papers of Field-Marshal Sir Charles Henry Brownlow, mostly relating to campaigns on the North-West Frontier; 1854-76. Add. MS. 52282. *Presented by Brigadier C. A. L. Brownlow, D.S.O.*
- Transcript, by W. R. Dawson, F.R.S.E., F.S.A., of the diary of Henry Westcar, describing his travels in Egypt in 1823-4. Add. MS. 52283. *Presented by the transcriber.*
- Diaries by George Cotsford Call of journeys on the Continent, 1808, 1810, in search of his missing brother-in-law, Benjamin Bathurst, Envoy to Austria. Add. MS. 52284. *Presented by Dr. H. J. Alexander.*

<sup>1</sup> The following list includes manuscripts incorporated into the Departmental collections between July and December 1963. The inclusion

of a manuscript in this list does not necessarily imply that it is available for study.



Letters addressed to Joseph Cradock, F.S.A. (1742-1826), man of letters. Add. MSS. 52285, 52286. *Presented by T. S. Blakeney, Esq., through the Friends of the National Libraries.*

'Hymn Tune Prelude' by Ralph Vaughan Williams, O.M. Autograph. Add. MS. 52287. *Presented by Dr. Harriet Cohen, C.B.E., to whom the work was dedicated.*

Scores and sketches by Ralph Vaughan Williams, O.M., of the music for the films *Scott of the Antarctic*, 1948-9, and *The Loves of Joanna Godden*, 1947. Add. MSS. 52288, 52289. *Presented by Mrs. Ursula Vaughan Williams.*

Parts of the String Quartet in A Minor by Ralph Vaughan Williams, O.M. Auto-

graph. Add. MS. 52290. *Presented by Miss Jean Stewart (Mrs. Hadley).*

Manuscript copy, 19th cent., of an unidentified Mass. Add. MS. 52291. *Presented by K. S. Taylor, Esq.*

Drafts of a projected history of the British Museum by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson; c. 1898. Add. MS. 52292. *Transferred from the Office of the Director and Principal Librarian.*

Maps of the manor of Woodstock, Co. Kildare, by John Rocque; 1756. Add. MS. 52293.

Correspondence and papers of Sir Charles Stewart Scott, diplomatist; 19th-20th cent. Add. MSS 52294-310. *Presented by Marie Christian Warre, wife of John Warre and daughter of Sir Charles Scott.*

## DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL PRINTED BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS

*Acquisitions, July to December 1963*

### I. ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS

Al-'ilm al-fab'ī, a study of cosmology and psychology, by Buṭrus ibn Buṭrus al-Tūlānī (d. 1745), Maronite Economist and preacher at Aleppo. This study is Book III (Graf. iii. 396) of his treatise on philosophy. Copied at Aleppo in 1759, in fine Naskhi script, by Anṭūn ibn al-Khūrī Būlus. (Or. 12882.)

The Qur'ān, copied on paper in exquisite bent Kufic script, with gold division marks and gold and blue or green marginal ornaments. The Sūrah headings are in gold Thuluthī script. On the back of the fly-leaf is an inscription stating that the manuscript was written in 340 (A.D. 951). Although this inscription is presumably not that of the original scribe, it might well have been copied from his colophon, in which case this would be the oldest known bent Kufic Qur'ān and the oldest known paper Qur'ān. (Or. 12884.)

The Qur'ān, written in fine Bihārī script, with red ruled margins, and red and yellow division marks. The Sūrah headings are in red Naskhi verging on Nasta'lik. 14th-15th cent.; Bihar? (Or. 12880.)

### 2. HINDI MANUSCRIPT

Rām-carit-mānas or Rāmāyaṇ, of Tulsī Dās. Profusely illustrated both with large paintings occupying most of a side and with vignettes, sometimes two or three to a page. The text is complete and reasonably accurate. Devanāgarī character. Some cantos have colophons and give Vaiṣṇav Dās as the scribe and Samvat 1842 as the date (A.D. 1785). (Or. 12867.)

### 3. JAPANESE MANUSCRIPT

Himitsu nembutsu-shō. A work on the teachings of esoteric Buddhism by the monk Dōhan, revised and explained in Japanese

by the monk Gikan. Preface signed by Gikan and dated 24th year of Meiji, i.e. 1891. (Or. 12887.)

#### 4. MALAYALAM MANUSCRIPT

Bhagavad-gītā in Malayalam. Palm-leaf. Good modern writing. (Or. 12888.)

#### 5. SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPT

Bhagavad-gītā. An illuminated manuscript of the north-western type, with the text (4 lines to a page) enclosed in gilt and red lines forming an oblong in the centre of the page. Illuminations and accompanying pages of text are surrounded with flowered patterns. Good devanāgarī writing of the Kashmiri type. The colophon names Rāma-candra Bhaṭṭi 'Kāśmīrī' as the scribe, the place of writing as Kāśī and the date is given as Samvat 1871 (A.D. 1814). (Or. 12889.)

#### 6. TURKISH MANUSCRIPTS

Mecma' al-tevārīkh. A general history written in 926/1520 by Maṭrakçı Naṣūh, which is based on the famous Arabic work of Ṭabarī, but continues Ṭabarī's account of events as far as the year 958/1551. No complete copy of this history is known to exist. Undated but there is a note at the beginning from the Grand Vizier, Khalil Paşa, dated

1033/1623-4, stating that the book was to be kept in the library of the mosque attached to his mausoleum at Üsküdar. Calligraphic Neskhi, with some vowels. (Or. 12879.)

Menākīb-i evliyā-ı Bursa. Biographies of 256 holy men who are buried in the city of Bursa, compiled by Şeikh Meḥemmed b. Muṣṭafa Balırcāde. The work is also called Ravzat-i evliyā (a chronogram which gives the date of compilation 1059/1649) or Ta'riḫ-i vefayāt. Copied probably in the 18th cent. Neskhi. One 'unvān. Contemporary binding with flap. (Or. 12870.)

Tezkire-i Güfti. Biographies of 103 Ottoman poets by 'Alī Güfti of Edirne who died in 1088/1677-8. The work is in verse throughout. For another copy of this work, which is sometimes called Teşrifāt ul-şu'arā, see İst. Kit., p. 585. Copied by Tahir Olgun in 1945. Rik'a. (Or. 12874.)

A Vakfnāme of Sems el-Dīn Ahmed b. 'Abd ül-Mu'in, mütevellī at Ayasofya, dated Istanbul, 920/1514-15. Calligraphic Neskhi. One 'unvān. Flap binding, probably seventeenth cent. (Or. 12871.)

Vilāyetnāme-i Tīmūr Bābā Sultān. The life and miracles of the Bektashi saint, Tīmūr Bābā Sultān. Imperfect at the end and copied in several hands, of which the earliest (seventeenth cent.?) is a vocalized Neskhi. (Or. 12869.)



## DEPARTMENT OF COINS AND MEDALS

*Acquisitions, August 1963 to February 1964*

- Gift of E. S. G. Robinson, Esq., C.B.E., M.A., D.Litt. (Hon.), F.B.A., F.S.A., former Keeper of Coins, British Museum, through the National Art Collections' Fund: a very rare silver stater of Vakhässara of Lycia, together with eleven other silver coins of Gela, Mende, Alexander the Great, Demetrius, Poliorcetes, and Lysimachus. *Reg. no. 1964, 2, 15.*
- Bequest of the late Alfred Buxton: the gold medal of the Royal Academy for Sculpture, awarded to him. *Reg. no. 1963, 10, 16.*
- By exchange with E. & F. Krupp of Long Island, New York, U.S.A.: a silver medallion of the Roman emperor Philip I (A.D. 244-9). *Reg. no. 1963, 11, 8.*
- Gift of H. Schneider, Esq.: a gold half-ryal of Edward IV. *Reg. no. 1963, 1, 1.*
- By exchange: a rare silver stater of Päriklä of Lycia. *Reg. no. 1964, 2, 12.*
- By exchange: a unique and unpublished gold  $\frac{1}{2}$ -stater of Teos. *Reg. no. 1964, 2, 13.*

## DEPARTMENT OF EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES

*Acquisitions, July to December 1963*

1. Fragment of painted limestone relief showing the upper portion of an Egyptian soldier holding an axe (1828, ht. 10½ in. Reign of Hatshepsut or Thutmosis III, 1500-1450 B.C.).
2. Blue faience ring with bezel decorated with the head of Harpocrates (66594, diameter 1 in. New Kingdom, c. 1300 B.C.).
3. Collection of 42 miscellaneous small objects, mostly of glass or faience (66595-636, New Kingdom-Ptolemaic Period). *Presented by Mrs. M. E. A. Wallis.*
4. Fragment of mummy cloth (66637, 3½ × 4¾ in. XVIIIth Dynasty, c. 1400 B.C.). *Presented by Miss N. de Lavis-Trafford.*

## DEPARTMENT OF WESTERN ASIATIC ANTIQUITIES

*Recent Acquisitions*

- Terracotta plaque with relief of a naked bearded male figure holding a vase from which flow two streams. c. 1800 B.C., from Ur. Ht. 13.2 × W. 8.5 cm. B.M. 133029. *Presented by Mrs. A. N. Yetts in memory of Major L. M. Yetts, M.C.*
- Terracotta dog rearing back with open mouth. c. 1800 B.C., from Babylonia. Ht. 10.5 × L. 10.2 cm. B.M. 133030. *Presented by Mrs. A. N. Yetts in memory of Major L. M. Yetts, M.C.*
- Cylinder seal with scene of Ea over a goat fish, supported by a fish-robed attendant, receiving a worshipper. 9th-8th cent. B.C. Assyrian. Ht. 3.4 × diam. 1.4 cm. B.M. 133031.
- Silver bowl, with bird engraved inside, and Pahlavi inscription on trumpet foot. A.D. 250-500. Sassanian, from Iran. Ht. 8.5 × diam. 16.9 cm. B.M. 133033.
- Clay tile with moulded figure of a winged eagle-headed genius. 8th cent. B.C., from

- Assyria. Ht. 14.5 × W. 8.6 cm. B.M. 133034.
- Semi-circular bronze fibula with decorative terminals. *c.* 700 B.C. Phrygian. 7.6 × 6.4 cm. B.M. 133041.
- Fragment of a bronze footed cup with decoration of spiral fluting. 250–500 A.D. Sassanian, from Iraq. Ht. 8.8 × W. 8.6 cm. B.M. 133042. *Presented by the Ealing Public Library, through the London Museum.*
- Limestone statue of a worshipper with shaven head, and hands clasped before him, dressed in a fleece garment (kaunakes), with one shoulder bare. *c.* 2500 B.C. Sumerian. Ht. 29.5 cm. B.M. 134300. *From the Collection of the late Sir Jacob Epstein.*
- Stone weight in the form of a duck, with a cuneiform inscription. Babylonian. Ht. 16.8 × L. 37.1 cm. Wt. 16.1 kg. (35 lb. 7 oz.). B.M. 134301. *Presented by Colonel A. S. Capper.*
- Terracotta figurine of a horse and rider, *c.* 1800 B.C., from Ur. Ht. 14.2 × L. 11.4 cm. B.M. 134302. *Presented by Miss Rayner Wood.*
- Silver gilt bowl with floral and geometric decoration. Traces of Pahlavi inscription on the outer rim. *c.* 1st cent. A.D. Parthian. Diam. 25.8–28.4 × depth 6.5 cm. B.M. 134303.
- Silver gilt bowl with pattern in the Hellenistic style. *c.* 2nd cent. B.C. Parthian. Diam. 16.1 × depth 5.4 cm. B.M. 134304.
- Cylinder seal showing a man beating a tree before a seated sphinx. *c.* 700 B.C. Assyrian. Ht. 2.4 × diam. 1.3 cm. B.M. 134305.
- Cylinder seal showing a lyre player surrounded by rows of animals and birds. *c.* 1200 B.C., from S.E. Asia Minor. Ht. 2.2 × diam. 1.4 cm. B.M. 134306.
- Marble idol, probably a fertility goddess. *c.* 2750 B.C., from Yortan, N.W. Turkey. Ht. 10.3 × thickness 0.6 cm. B.M. 134307.
- Marble idol, as 134307. Ht. 8.8 × thickness 0.8 cm. B.M. 134308.
- Marble idol, as 134307. Ht. 10.3 × thickness 0.6 cm. B.M. 134309.
- Bronze sword with horn-shaped decoration at hilt. *c.* 1000 B.C. From Amlash, N.W. Persia. L. 46.3 × max. breadth of blade 5.7 × thickness at midrib 0.6 cm. B.M. 134310.
- Fragment of alabaster with part of a Nabataean inscription; *c.* 1st cent. A.D. From Petra. 5.3 × 5.1 × thickness 1.8 cm. B.M. 134313. *Presented by Captain S. J. S. Boord.*
- Selection of ten ivories from Fort Shalmaneser, Nimrud. Phoenician, 9th–8th cent. B.C. B.M. 134315–24.
- Disc of shell with the name Urhilina (king of Hamath) inscribed in Hittite hieroglyphics. 9th cent. B.C. From Fort Shalmaneser, Nimrud. 7 × 5.9 × 2.5 cm. B.M. 134325.
- Collection of glass vessels and beads of East Greek or possibly Phoenician manufacture. B.M. 134326–37. *Presented by Mrs. M. E. A. Wallis in memory of the late E. H. Wallis.*
- Bronze spearhead with shoulder and bent button tang. *c.* 2000 B.C. From Persia. L. 43.4 cm. B.M. 134338.
- Two bottles and a ewer of grey burnished pottery, *c.* 8th cent. B.C. From Khurvin, near Teheran. B.M. 134339–41.
- Collection of bronze spearheads, pins, and toggles. *c.* 8th cent. B.C. From Khurvin, near Teheran. B.M. 134342–56.
- Bronze head of an iron poker in form of a man's head. L. 9.5 × breadth 3.1 cm. B.M. 134357.
- Silver gilt boss, perhaps from a shield, embossed with the face of a lion. Late Parthian–Early Sassanian, 3rd–4th cent. A.D. Diam. 15.9 × depth 5.7 cm. B.M. 134358.



## DEPARTMENT OF GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES

### *Acquisitions, July to September 1963*

1. Bronze jug of the Mycenaean period. Ht. 1 ft. 9½ in. Said to come from the Peloponnese. *Reg. no. 1963, 7-5, 1.*
2. Collection of 80 Greek and Roman lamps from the collection of F. W. Robins. *Bequeathed by F. W. Robins. Reg. no. 1963, 7-15, 1-80.*
3. Bronze quadruped on a stand, perhaps a hippopotamus. L. 1½ in. *Given by Mr. H. J. Mortimer-Lamb. Reg. no. 1963, 7-19, 1.*
4. Marble figure of crouching Aphrodite. Ht. 3 ft. 11½ in. *Placed on permanent loan by H.M. the Queen. Reg. no. 1963, 10-29, 1.*
5. Marble altar with a dead ram lying across it. Ht. 1 ft. 11½ in. *Placed on permanent loan by H.M. the Queen. Reg. no. 1963, 10-29, 2.*
6. Rock crystal polyhedron inscribed with letters of the Greek alphabet. Greatest dimension ½ in. *Given by Mrs. M. E. A. Wallis. Reg. no. 1963, 11-15, 1.*
7. Glass bowl, hemispherical, brown glass. Diam. 5 in. *Given by Mrs. M. E. A. Wallis. Reg. no. 1963, 11-15, 2.*
8. Clay lamp with bust of Athena. L. 3⅜ in. *Given by Mrs. C. H. Webster. Reg. no. 1963, 12-18, 1.*
9. Clay vase, red fabric with grey slip. Inscription in white letters. H. 3½ in. *Lep-tis Magna. Roman, third century A.D.*

## DEPARTMENT OF BRITISH AND MEDIEVAL ANTIQUITIES

### *Acquisitions, July to December 1963*

#### PREHISTORIC AND ROMANO-BRITISH ANTIQUITIES

- Two Lower Paleolithic flint cores from Barnfield Pit, Swanscombe, and Ricksons Pit, Swanscombe, Kent. *Given by Dr. K. P. Oakley, F.B.A., F.S.A. (1963, 7-5, 1-2).*
- Finds, plans, and field-records from the excavation of the Early Iron Age settlement at Staple Howe, East Yorkshire. *Purchased (1963, 12-8).*
- A late-Roman bronze buckle from Catterick, Yorkshire. *Given by E. J. W. Hildyard, Esq., F.S.A. (1963, 11-7, 1).*

#### EUROPEAN ANTIQUITIES

c. 400-c. 1100 A.D.

- A pottery fragment, red ware, stamped with

- figure of Our Lord, two heads, and a star. North African, late Roman period. *Purchased (1963, 7-4, 1).*
- An Anglo-Saxon saucer-brooch found near Luton. *Purchased (1963, 7-3, 1).*
- A group of burial urns, grave goods, and hanging-bowls and escutcheons from the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Loveden Hill, Lincolnshire. *Purchased (1963, 10-1).*
- A small Anglo-Saxon cremation urn in reddish ware with boss and stamp decoration. Found near Biscot Mill, Luton. *Purchased (1963, 12-3, 1).*
- The entire contents of the Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery of the pagan Saxon period at Dover, excavated 1953-5 for the Ministry of Works. *Purchased (1963, 11-8).*

EUROPEAN ANTIQUITIES

c. 1100-c. 1500 A.D.

Four Romanesque whalebone panels, probably from a portable altar or reliquary casket. English, 12th cent. *Purchased*. (With the aid of the National Art-Collections Fund, the Pilgrim Trust, and a special Treasury grant.) (1963, 11-7, 1).

A medieval gittern, English, early 14th cent. *Purchased*. (With the aid of the National Art-Collections Fund, the Pilgrim Trust, and a special Treasury grant.) (1963, 10-2, 1).

A lead merchant's mark, with loop for suspension. English, 14th cent. *Given by S. Riggs, Esq.* (1963, 7-2, 1).

Group of medieval pottery fragments from a site at Les Oulliers, France. *Given by K. J. Burton, Esq.* (1963, 11-2).

Fragments of medieval pottery from a kiln site at Potters Green. *Given by D. F. Renn, Esq.* (1963, 12-7).

Groups of medieval stoneware wasters excavated on kiln sites at Siegburg, Rhineland. *Given by Dr. B. Beckman, through J. G. Hurst, Esq., of the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments, Ministry of Public Building and Works* (1963, 12-1).

Group of medieval stoneware wasters excavated on kiln sites at Savignies near Beauvais. *Given by M. Robert Lemaire through J. G. Hurst, Esq., of the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments, Ministry of Public Building and Works* (1963, 12-2).

EUROPEAN ANTIQUITIES

c. 1500-c. 1950 A.D.

Sixty-two tiles of Renaissance date, of probable English manufacture, decorated in relief. Found at Iford Manor, Somerset. *Purchased* (1963, 7-1, 1-62).

A French maiolica dish, made at Lyons about 1580. *Given by Mrs. C. E. Green and Mrs. G. I. Vinall* (1963, 11-5, 1).

An Orvieto pottery jug, a Florentine maiolica jug, and a Paduan maiolica plate. *Given by A. L. Walters, Esq.* (1963, 11-6, 1-3).

A lead ampulla, found on Mablethorpe beach, Lincs. Russian, 16th-17th cent. *Given by H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh* (1963, 12-4, 1).

A wine glass with seal on stem. English, c. 1730. *Given by Howard Phillips, Esq.* (1963, 11-1, 1).

A silver watch by Richardson, Carlisle (no. 32752). c. 1870. *Given by Miss M. Graham* (1963, 12-5, 1).

A triple-case watch by François Ferlitte of Geneva (no. 5780). Geneva, mid-18th cent. *Given by P. E. Mabb, Esq., M.B.E.* (1963, 12-6, 1).

A silver watch by Isaac Grasset et Cie, Geneva. Swiss, c. 1900. *Purchased* (1963, 11-4, 1).

An alarm clock, 'Silent Tick' escapement, by Ingersoll Ltd. English, c. 1920. *Given by Dr. R. Vaudrey Mercer* (1963, 11-3, 1).



# DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL ANTIQUITIES

*Acquisitions, July to December 1963*

## CHINA

- Bronze *hu* with cover. 6th cent. B.C. Ht. 17 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. 1963, 12, 15, 1. *Brooke Sewell Bequest Fund.*
- A jade shouldered axe found in south China. 6th–5th cent. B.C. L. 1 $\frac{9}{10}$  in. 1963, 12, 17, 1. *Given by W. Weinberger, Esq.*
- Collection of bronze weapons, stone tools, and pottery fragments from Lamma Island, Hong Kong. 3rd–1st cent. B.C. 1963, 10, 14, 1, 47. *Given by W. Schofield, Esq.*
- Porcelain ewer of a Persian form decorated in underglaze blue. Early 15th cent. A.D. Ht. 12 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. 1963, 12, 19, 1. *Brooke Sewell Bequest Fund.*
- Porcelain wine ewer decorated with enamels and underglaze blue. 1660–82 A.D. Ht. 7 in. 1963, 9, 20, 1.
- Porcelain bowl made for the Empress Dowager Tz'ü Hsi. 19th cent. Diam. 8 in. 1963, 7, 19, 1. *Given by Miss A. Beasley.*
- Three lacquered wooden figures: Confucius, Kuan Yin, and Buddha. Dated A.D. 1652. Ht. 19 in.; 10 in.; 7 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. 1963, 12, 16, 1, 4. *Bequeathed by Mrs. Jessie Waters.*
- Chou Wên-chü (10th cent. A.D.), formerly attributed to: 'Resting from Embroidery.' Handscroll in colours on silk. N. Sung. L. 45 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. Ht. 9 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. 1963, 12, 14, 02. *Brooke Sewell Bequest Fund.*
- Li Kung-lin (c. 1040–1106), attributed to: 'Metamorphoses of Heavenly Beings.' Handscroll on paper in ink and light colours. L. 20 ft. Ht. 13 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. 1963, 12, 14, 03. *Brooke Sewell Bequest Fund.*
- Wên Chia (1501–83). Landscape in ink and light colours, dated 1575. 48 × 13 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. 1963, 12, 14, 01. *Brooke Sewell Bequest Fund.*
- Hsiao Yün-ts'ung (1596–1673). Handscroll of landscape in Anhui. Dated 1657.

L. 89 in. Ht. 9 $\frac{1}{10}$  in. 1963, 10, 14, 02. *Brooke Sewell Bequest Fund.*

## JAPAN

- Gyōdō mask of a Bodhisattva, wood, painted and lacquered. 16th–17th cent. Ht. 9 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. 1963, 7, 22, 1. *Given by Lady Oppenheimer.*
- 'Soul of an idol.' Silver alloy and bead pendant from the interior of a statue. Collected 1914 in Canton. L. 7 in. 1963, 12, 18, 1. *Given by Canon H. A. Wittenbach.*
- Eight woodcut prints, by Harunobu, Koryū-sai (2), Bunchō, Toyoharu (2), Shunkyoku, Kunisada. 1963, 7, 31, 01, 08.
- Album of sketches in ink and colour by Tani Bunchō (1765–1842). 1963, 10, 14, 01.

## INDIA AND PAKISTAN

- Fifteen celts from Garo Hills (Assam). 1500–1000 B.C. 1963, 10, 19, 1–15. *Given by M. C. Goswami.*
- Toilet palette in schist. Diam. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. Gandhara: 1st–2nd cent. A.D. 1963, 7, 11, 2.
- Stucco head of Buddha. Hadda: 5–6th cent. A.D. Ht. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. 1963, 7, 13, 1. *Given by D. F. King, Esq.*
- Schist figure of a Mother Goddess. Western India. 7th cent. A.D. Ht. 2 ft. 7 in. 1963, 11, 12, 1. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*
- Stone male head. From Aihole, Deccan. Early 8th cent. A.D. Ht. 7 $\frac{3}{10}$  in. 1963, 7, 11, 1.
- Bronze figure of standing Buddha. Kashmir. 8–9th cent. A.D. Ht. 7 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. 1963, 12, 14, 1. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*
- Basalt figure of seated Candessvara. Cola: about A.D. 900. Ht. 2 ft. 1 in. 1963, 10, 15, 1. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Basalt figure of Narasimha. Cola: about A.D. 950. Ht. 3 ft. 7 in. 1963, 10, 15, 2. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Basalt figure of Karttikeya. Cola: about A.D. 1000. Ht. 3 ft. 8 in. 1963, 10, 15, 3. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Bronze spittoon. North India. 15-16th cent. A.D. Diam.  $7\frac{3}{8}$  in. 1963, 10, 17, 2.

Fragment of marble from the dome of the Taj Mahal, Agra. India (Mughal): 17th cent. L.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in. 1963, 10, 18, 1. *Given by F. Quỳ, Esq.*

Carved rhinoceros horn cup and saucer. India (Mughal): 18th cent. A.D. L. (cup)  $4\frac{11}{16}$  in.: (saucer)  $5\frac{11}{16}$  in. 1963, 7, 15, 1, 2.

Ivory pen-box. Deccan: 17th cent. A.D. L.  $8\frac{1}{10}$  in. 1963, 7, 12, 1.

Seven examples of Indian sculpture in bronze, wood, and brick. 17th-18th cent. A.D. 1963, 11, 11, 1, 7. *Given by the Church Missionary Society.*

Page from a palm-leaf manuscript with hunting scenes on each side. Orissa: early 17th cent. 1963, 11, 11, 01.

#### SIAM

Twenty-four pieces of Siamese sculpture, in bronze, stone, and stucco, ranging from the 8th to the 16th cent. A.D. 1963, 10, 16, 1-24. *Given by the heirs of Dr. L. E. Samson.*

Bronze gadrooned bowl. 17-18th cent. A.D. Diam.  $8\frac{3}{4}$  in. 1963, 10, 17, 1.

#### JAVA

Bronze group of Avalokitesvara and consort.

Java: 10th cent. A.D. Ht.  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in. L.  $6\frac{1}{10}$  in. 1963, 7, 10, 1. *Brooke Sewell Bequest Fund.*

#### TIBET

Gilt bronze helmet ornament. Tibet: 19th cent. A.D. Ht. 2 in. 1963, 7, 14, 1. *Given by J. Gillingham, Esq.*

#### ISLAMIC

Fragment of glass with stained 'lustre' decoration. Egypt: 8th-9th cent. A.D. 1963, 7, 16, 2.

Bowl of blue glass with enamel decoration. Syria: 12th cent. Ht. 3 in. Diam.  $4\frac{4}{8}$  in. 1963, 12, 20, 1. *Brooke Sewell Bequest Fund.*

Fragment of glass flask with gilded decoration. Syria: 12th cent. A.D. L.  $2\frac{5}{8}$  in. 1963, 7, 16, 1.

Bronze cauldron with relief decoration on rim. Persia: late 12th cent. A.D. Diam. 1 ft.  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in. 1963, 10, 17, 3. *Brooke Sewell Bequest Fund.*

Bronze mirror with relief ornament. Islamic: 14th cent. A.D. Diam.  $7\frac{5}{8}$  in. 1963, 7, 18, 1. *Given by Mrs. B. Z. Seligman.*

Brass bowl with remains of silver inlay. Persia: 14th cent. Diam.  $9\frac{1}{2}$  in. 1963, 7, 17, 1.

Glass jar. Persia: 17th cent. Ht.  $1\frac{9}{10}$  in.

Fragment of glass bird. Egypt: 8-9th cent. A.D. L.  $1\frac{3}{10}$  in.

A glass bangle. Islamic, of medieval period. Diam.  $2\frac{3}{8}$  in. 1963, 11, 13, 1, 3.

*These three given by Mrs. M. E. A. Wallis (from the collection of Henry Wallis).*



## DEPARTMENT OF ETHNOGRAPHY

*Acquisitions, July to December 1963*

### DONATIONS AND PURCHASES

#### AFRICA

A collection of flint artefacts from a site by a dried-up lake 200 kilometres north-west of Villa Cisneros in the Spanish Sahara. *Presented by R. L. Sinclair, Esq.*

A large soapstone head with asymmetric hair decoration from Sierra Leone (acquired by Captain A. W. F. Fuller in 1937). *Presented by Mrs. E. W. Fuller through the National Art-Collections Fund.*

A Baule mask surmounted by a figure of a bird, from the Ivory Coast. *Presented by Lady Epstein.*

Two zinc stencils used in the process of reserve dyeing of *adire* cloth, from the Yoruba of Ketu, Dahomey. *Presented by Leon Underwood, Esq.*

A carved and garishly painted female figure bought by the donor from the carver, Ejogboro Tiamiyu of Ikire, central Yorubaland, Western Nigeria. *Presented by M. Egan, Esq.*

A Yoruba door panel, carved in relief with symbolic designs of the Ogboni Society, probably from Ijebu Province, Western Nigeria. *Purchased.*

A mancala board (with beans) probably from the Ekoi of eastern Nigeria (collected at Lagos or Port Harcourt about thirty years ago). *Presented by Mrs. E. M. Gibb.*

A comprehensive and well-documented collection of divining bones and similar implements from numerous tribes of southern Africa. *By exchange.*

A European-style hat made from giraffe-tail hair from Cape Province, South Africa (believed to have been presented to the

L.M.S. by the Rev. R. Moffat) and King Cetewayo's walking staff. *Presented by Mrs. E. W. Fuller through the National Art-Collections Fund.*

A mammiform pottery receptacle used by Mashona (especially women) in recent years for carrying alluvial gold to the Native Commissioner, northern Mashonaland, Southern Rhodesia. *Presented by J. English, Esq.*

Two small Mashona knives with carved wood sheaths from Southern Rhodesia. *Presented by Mrs. B. Z. Seligman.*

Two double-spouted spherical pots (similar to a Batwa type), also a broken *tuyère* with an iron arrowhead and an iron hoe or adze blade found at two abandoned sites in Basubi country, Ngara District, West Lake Region, Tanganyika. *Presented by R. C. Downie, Esq.*

An ethnographical collection from various African tribes. *Purchased.*

#### AMERICA

Three stone arrowheads found in the locality of a former Indian settlement in the Wauhachin valley near Kamloops Lake, Thompson River, British Columbia. *Presented by J. L. Turing, Esq.*

A polychrome pottery bowl from the Ancient Classic Maya site of Gallon Jug, British Honduras. *Presented by R. E. Groves, Esq.*

A bow decorated with feathers and sixteen arrows, probably from the Bororo tribe, collected by the donor's grandfather in Brazil. *Presented by C. J. Blackmore, Esq.*

## ASIA

A small collection of weapons brought by the testator's father from Afghanistan after the war of 1878. *Bequeathed by Mrs. W. O. Gloster.*

A wooden funerary figure from Chitral. *Presented by Captain C. G. T. Dean.*

A cast brass ritual spoon representing the god Krishna dancing on the head of the serpent Kaliya, from the Deccan, India. *Presented by R. E. Ridley, Esq.*

A Sinhalese knife said to have been collected in Borneo by the late Professor C. G. Seligman; also a small ethnographical collection from the Ainu made by N. G. Munro. *Presented by Mrs. B. Z. Seligman.*

Three pieces of embroidery from the Miao of western China, and two pieces of embroidery forming the edgings for a pair of woman's sleeves, probably also from western China, all collected about fifty years ago. *Presented by Miss D. Clarke.*

A bow-trap, a musical instrument, a Russian tea brick used as currency, and a wood model camel used as a votive offering, all

collected by the donor in Outer Mongolia in 1910. *Presented by N. P. Price, Esq.*

An ivory plaque carved with human figures and a tent in pierced work, probably from eastern Siberia. *Presented by L. H. Grant-ham, Esq.*

An ethnographical collection from various Asiatic tribes. *Purchased.*

## OCEANIA

Two carved wood dishes, one in human form, and an anthropomorphic carving hung above a house entrance, from Indonesian New Guinea. *Purchased.*

A wooden trumpet, side-blown, with a human face carved on the end, from New Guinea. *Purchased.*

A carved wooden canoe ornament from Gawa, Papua. *Presented by Mrs. B. Z. Seligman.*

A fern root carving used as a decoration for the front of a house, from Amoch, New Hebrides. *Purchased.*

A wooden club from Fiji. *Purchased.*





## Semi-chorus.

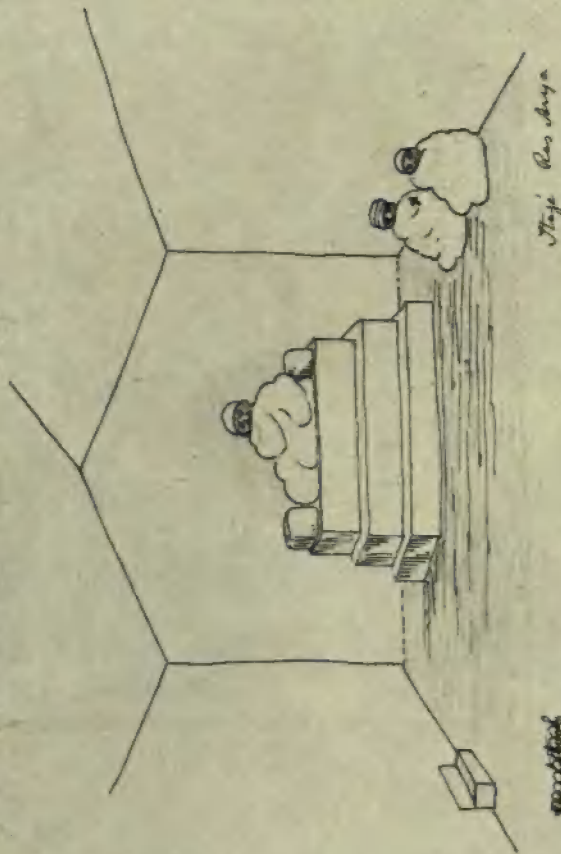
145

14/4

O star - lit night O star - lit night brood on - O star - lit night

lit night O star - lit night O star - lit night O star - lit night





Reception 27 Oct 1879

The King was perched up on the top of three angups or stretchers, covered with silk, in a most commanding position; he kept his face much covered, and only showed part of his face. He had a white handkerchief tied tightly over his head. Ras Dargu & the Ras were huddled up side by side. Coss, uncle & an allowed entry into his Majesty's presence.

# XXII. AUTOGRAPH DRAWING OF GORDON'S RECEPTION BY KING JOHN OF ETHIOPIA

Also present, the king's leading counsellors, his uncle and the Etchege, or premier monk

Add. MS. 51304, f. 91

# ARTOCARPUS INCISA.

Described 1808 by Champier, Champier & de Robin 1792.  
"Bread Fruit." *Artocarpus Compositus* Champier.

"Gave all around them stored the hue of life"  
"Life universal blossoming universal fruit"  
"Vigilant gold" Milton Paradise Lost.

Leaf opposite.

Leaf  
15 to 20"

Male  
smaller than female

Younger than male  
smaller than male  
smaller than male

Male.

Section

Flower 6 to 8 lines  
smaller than a female flower

Male

Male

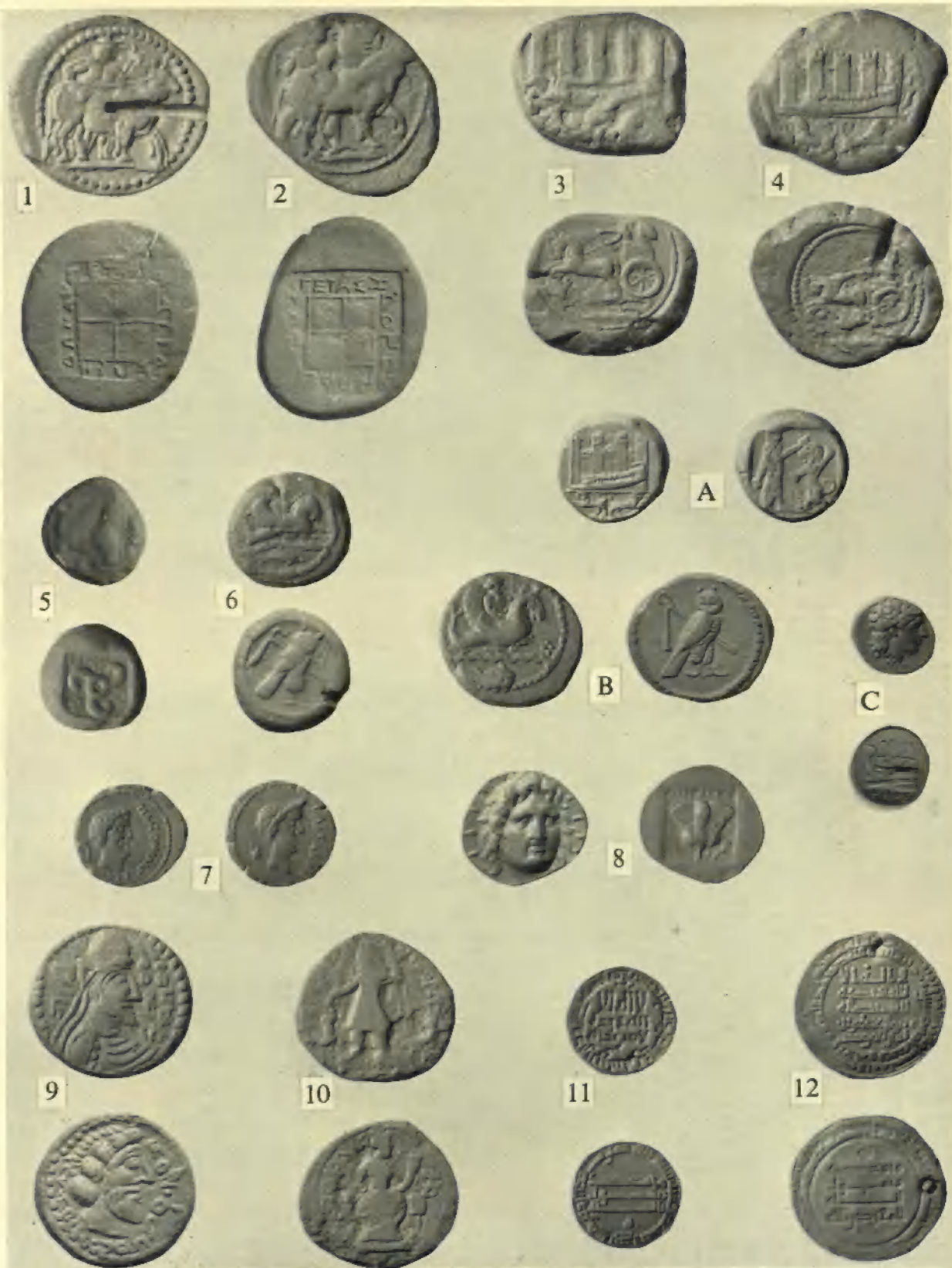
Flower 6 to 8 lines  
smaller than a female flower

30 to 40 ft. high 2 ft. diameter



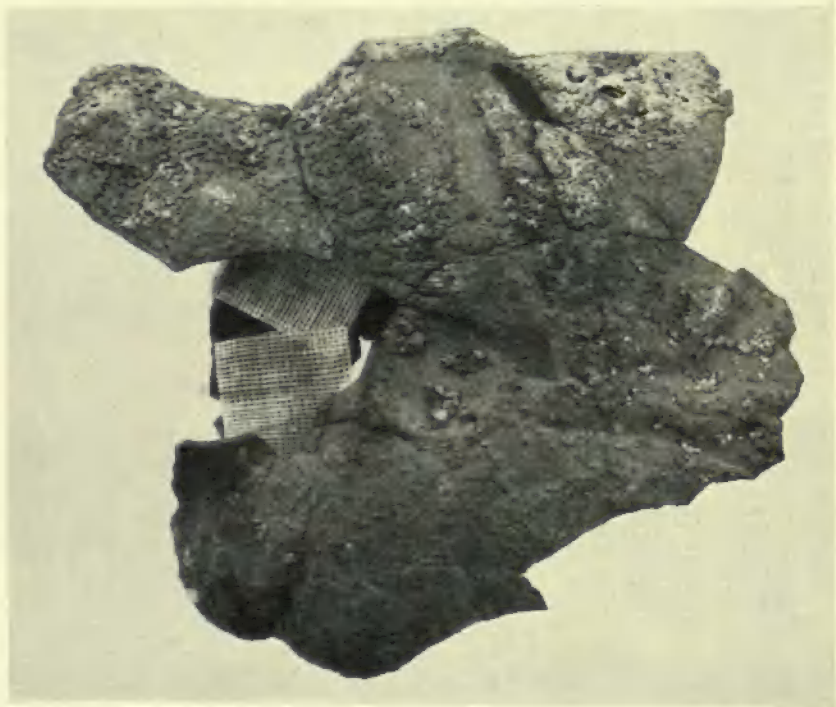






XXV. COINS mainly from the Rich collection





*a*



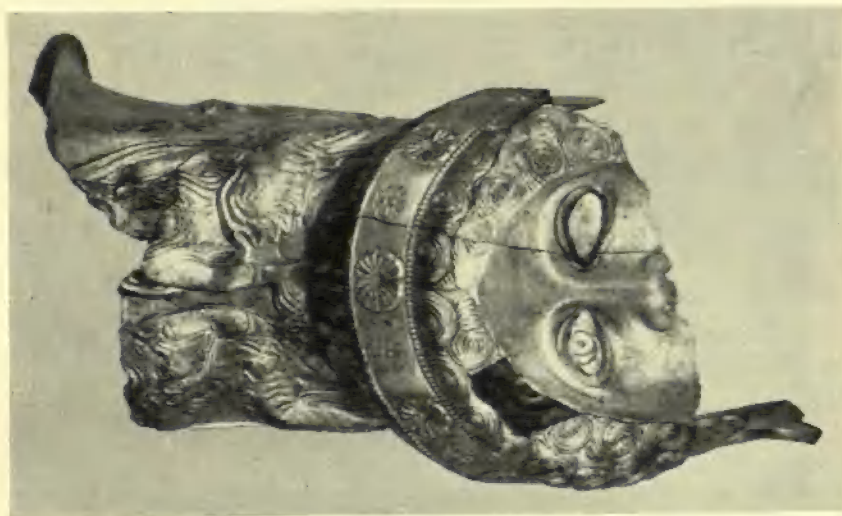
*b*

Scale:  $\frac{1}{2}$  in

XXVI. A GREEK SILVER HEAD-VASE  
Side view of the vase, (*a*) before, and (*b*) after cleaning



*a*



*b*

Scale:  $\frac{1}{2}$

XXVII. FRONTAL VIEW OF DIADEMED HEAD, (a) before, and (b) after cleaning





*a*

Scale:  $\frac{1}{2}$  cm



*b*

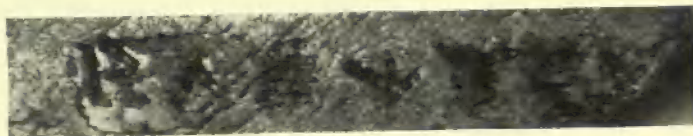


*c*

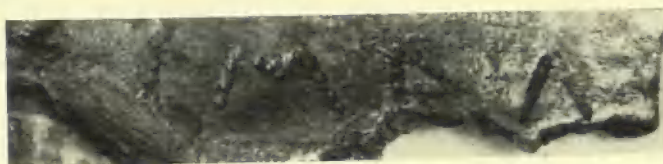
XXVIII. (*a*) Three-quarter view of diademed head and reliefs on the neck  
 (*b*) Fragment of the rim of the vase with part of the reliefs  
 (*c*) Fragment of the foot of the vase



*a*



*b*



*c*



*d*



*e*

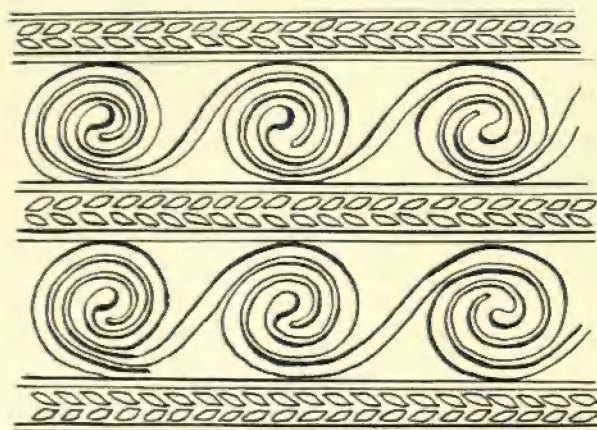
## XXIX. PHOTOMICROGRAPHS

- (*a*) The Aphrodite inscription
- (*b*) The Paris inscription
- (*c*) The Athena inscription
- (*d*) The right eye after cleaning
- (*e*) The left eye before cleaning, showing the powdery substance behind the glass





Scale:  $\frac{2}{1}$



Scale:  $\frac{5}{2}$

XXX. A CYLINDER FROM ENKOMI



XXXI. MARBLE FIGURE OF RISHI





# THE BRITISH MUSEUM QUARTERLY NEWS SUPPLEMENT

JANUARY 1964

## AN ELIZABETHAN'S DRAWINGS OF AMERICA

Sir Walter Raleigh's first colonizing expedition, sent to 'Virginia' in 1585, was accompanied by an artist named John White who was to make a pictorial record of the country, its inhabitants, and its natural products. He emerges as a key figure (he was appointed governor on the second colonizing expedition in 1587) in the first English efforts to colonize North America. He drew the camps and ships of the English colonists, maps, scenes from the daily life of the Indians whom he encountered, and birds, fishes, reptiles and plants of the North American continent.

The surviving drawings of this Elizabethan artist, the earliest graphic records of North America to have survived, have now been reproduced in colour facsimile and will be published jointly by the Trustees of the British Museum and the University of North Carolina Press under the title *The American Drawings of John White, 1577-1590, with drawings of European and Oriental subjects*. All aspects of the artist's life and work are fully discussed by Paul Hulton and David B. Quinn with important contributions from other British and American scholars. The book has received financial support from the Pilgrim and Wellcome Trusts in Britain and from the Old Dominion Foundation in the United States, and will mark the culmination of efforts extending over more than thirty years to publish in full the surviving work of this artist and colonial pioneer.

The publication is in two volumes: volume I consists of approximately 200 pages of text; volume II consists of 160 plates in colour and monochrome (details of the processes employed are given below).

The edition is limited to 600 numbered copies, 300 for sale by the University of North Carolina Press in the United States and its possessions, and 300 for sale by the British Museum elsewhere.

It will be issued in Spring 1964 at 70 gns.

### METHOD OF REPRODUCTION

The delicate water-colours used by the artist, particularly in the medium ranges, the occasional use of strong body-colours and metallic pigments, his own fine italic inscriptions in brown ink, the black lead outlines, as well as the blemishes which have affected the paper over nearly 400 years, were thought to be beyond the capacity of colour printing alone. The method of collotype printing in colour and the application by hand of the secondary colours through foil stencils (*pochoir*) was chosen, as capable of achieving the





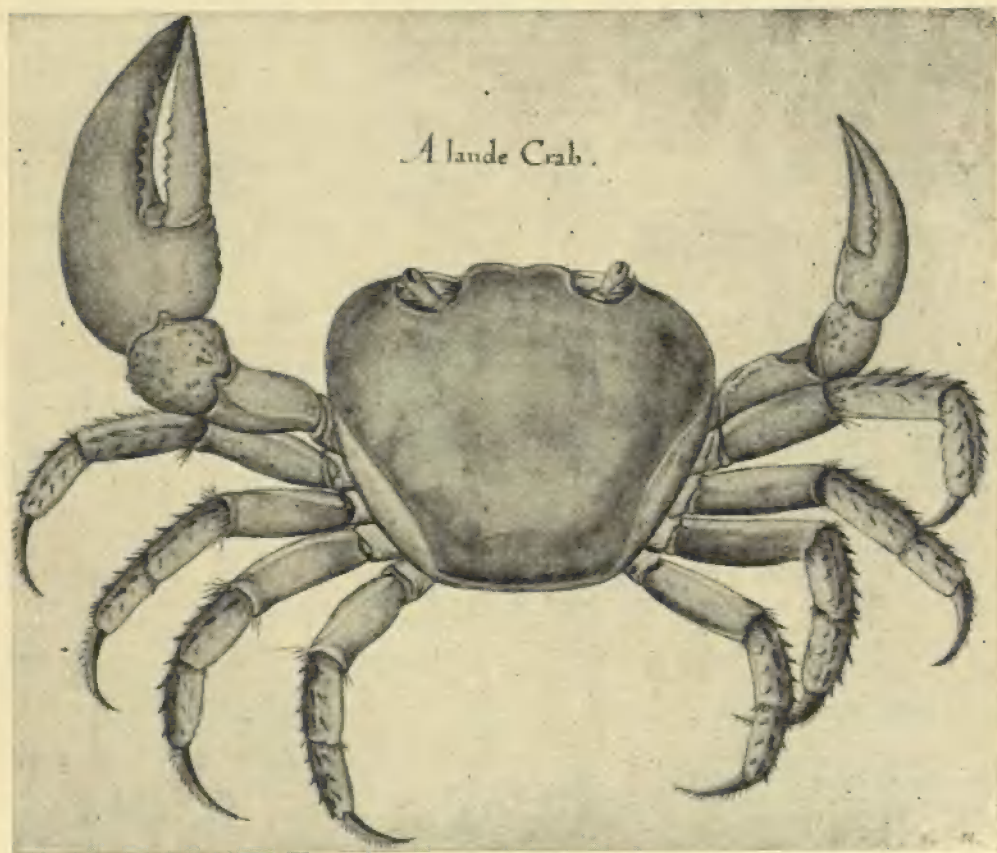
Engraved title-page to Theodor de Bry, *America, pt. I* (1590), with figures after drawings by John White

required accuracy of detail, colour and texture. The result is in fact a water-colour on a printed base. The plates have been produced by the Imprimerie Duval (collotype) and the Atelier Beaufumé (*pochoir*) of Paris.

Since the original drawings could not leave the British Museum, the printers were provided with copies to be used as models for the various phases of colour reproduction. These were necessarily of the highest fidelity and were executed by two artists, Mrs P. D. H. Page and Mrs Jeanne Holgate, on a basis of collotype outlines. The printers' proofs were corrected at several stages against the original drawings. The paper selected for the book and the prospectus is a modern approximation to that used by White for the originals in about 1588.

#### THE COLOUR PLATES

The colour section is confined to White's original drawings preserved in the British Museum. They consist of (a) a set of drawings and a title-page, now mounted separately, which until 1866 formed a volume bound up in White's own time, and (b) a small group of



*Land Crab. Drawing in water-colours by John White*



## The arriual of the Englishemen II. in Virginia.



**T**He sea coasts of Virginia are full of Ilands, where by the entrance into the mayne lād is hard to finde. For although they bee separated with diuers and sundrie large Diuision, which seeme to yeeld conuenient entrance, yet to our great perill we proued that they wear shallowe, and full of dangerous flats, and could neuer perceiue into the mayne lād, vntill wee made trialls in many places with our small pinnest. At length wee found an entrance vpon our mens diligent serche therof. After that wee had passed ope, and sayled ther in for a short space we discovered a mightie riuer fallnige downe in to the sounde ouer against those Ilands, which neuertheless wee could not saile ope any thinge far by Reason of these shallowes, the mouth therof beinge annoyed with sands driuen in with the tyde therefore saylinge further, wee came vnto a Good bigg yland, the Inhabitant thereof as soone as they saw vs began to make a great and horrible crye, as people which neuer befoer had seene men apperelled like vs, and camme a way makinge out crys like wild beasts or men out of their wits. But beinge gentlye called backe, wee offered the of our wares, as glasses, knives, babies, and other trifles, which wee thought they delighted in. Soe they stood still, and perceiuinge our Good will and courtesie came fawninge vpon vs, and bade us welcome. Then they brought vs to their village in the island called, Roanoac, and vnto their Weroans or Prince, which entertained vs with Reasonable curtesie, although they wear amazed at the first sight of vs. Suche was our arriual into the parte of the world, which we call Virginia, the stature of bodie of wiche people, theyr attire, and maner of lyuinge, their feast, and banquetts, I will particullerlye declare vnto you.

*The arrival of the Englishmen, engraved by Theodor de Bry after John White*

drawings of insects in the manuscript by Thomas Moffet, 'Insectorum . . . Theatrum', first published in English in 1658 as *The theater of insects*.

The plates are reproduced in colour in approximately their original size.

#### THE MONOCHROME PLATES

The 84 monochrome plates contain some 171 subjects drawn from two main sources: a volume of early seventeenth-century copies of drawings by John White—of which most of the originals have disappeared—and the Grenville copy of the English edition of Theodor de Bry's famous work, *America*, pt. I (Frankfort, 1590). The former, known as the 'Sloane volume', was acquired by Dr Hans Sloane some time after 1709 from the artist's descendants and is in the Print Room of the British Museum. De Bry's work consisted of a reprint of Thomas Hariot's *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* with engravings after John White by De Bry and his associates, comprising 23 Indian subjects and 5 'Picts' and Ancient Britons. All the Sloane copies, most of them previously unpublished, and all the engravings by De Bry are reproduced. This section also includes a drawing by and engravings after Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, White's older Huguenot contemporary and possible master; the earliest White derivatives—engravings of copies of his drawings made by the anonymous artist employed by Sir Francis Drake and published as



*Florida chief with wife and attendants*



incidental details of maps and town plans in 1589; a group of 'Virginia' birds, apparently derived from the Sloane copies and inserted by that eccentric clergyman and author, Edward Topsell, in his unpublished manuscript 'The fowles of Heauen', now in the Huntington Library; three of the drawings at Windsor made over a century later by Mark Catesby to illustrate his *Natural history of North Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands* (1731-43 [48]) and taken directly from the Sloane volume; and a number of little known or unpublished early drawings and prints of comparative interest. The monochrome plates have been printed in collotype by Messrs Louis van Leer of Amsterdam.

#### THE TEXT

Volume I consists of a detailed catalogue with scientific notes, a preface, an introduction on White in his historical setting and on the various aspects of his achievement in the fields of art-history, ethnology, natural history and cartography. There is also a selective bibliography and a full index. The authors are Mr Paul Hulton, Assistant Keeper in the Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, and Professor David Beers Quinn of the Department of Modern History, Liverpool University. Both have been working on

the White material for many years, the latter presenting the drawings and their derivatives as historical documents in *The Roanoke voyages* (1955), the former describing them in *A Catalogue of British drawings* (British Museum, 1960) of which Edward Croft-Murray and he were the co-authors. They have been assisted by the following authorities who have contributed substantially to the scientific notes or the introduction: Mr Edward Croft-Murray, Keeper of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, who wrote the preface; Dr William C. Sturtevant of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, who supplied the notes on the Indian entries, the index of Carolina Algonkian culture traits and the study on White's contribution to the ethnology of the Carolina Algonkians; the Rev. Canon C. E. Raven, formerly a Trustee of the British Museum and author of *English naturalists from Neckam to Ray* (1947), who contributed the section on White's significance for natural history; Mr R. A. Skelton, Superintendent of the Map Room, British Museum, who wrote on White's contribution to cartography; Dr Louis B. Wright, Director of the Folger Library, who was concerned with White's influ-



Indian woman. Drawing in water-colours by John White

ence in America; Dr Herbert Friedmann, formerly of the U.S. National Museum, Smithsonian Institution, who, with the assistance of specialists there and in the British Museum (Natural History), provided the identifications and scientific notes on the faunal and floral entries; and Dr Kaj Birket-Smith of the Ethnological Department of the National Museum, Copenhagen, who has advised on the Eskimo entries and the section on White's contribution to the ethnology of the Eskimos of southern Baffin Island. The letterpress has been printed in England at the University Press, Cambridge.

## REPRINT OF THE CATALOGUE OF THE GREEK COINS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM IN TWENTY-NINE VOLUMES

The republication of the first two volumes of this work is now announced and further volumes will appear in quick succession. Orders for the whole set may be placed either with the authorized publishers, Messrs Arnaldo Forni Editore, Bologna, Via Casteltialto 3, Italy or with the Director (Publications) of the British Museum. Trade orders should be placed directly with the publishers. A prospectus has been issued and may be had free of charge from the British Museum.

The complete set will comprise the following twenty-nine titles which may also be purchased separately:

- |                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| (1) POOLE, R. S.  | <i>Italy</i> , 432 pp., illustrated.  |
| (2) POOLE, R. S.  | <i>Sicily</i> , 292 pp., illustrated.   |
| (3) POOLE, R. S.  | <i>The Tauric Chersonese, Sarmatia, Dacia, Moesia, Thrace, etc.</i> , 274 pp., illustrated. |
| (4) POOLE, R. S.  | <i>The Seleucid Kings of Syria</i> , 122 pp., 27 plates.                                    |
| (5) POOLE, R. S.  | <i>Macedonia, etc.</i> , 200 pp., 1 map and illustrations.                                  |
| (6) POOLE, R. S.  | <i>The Ptolemies, Kings of Egypt</i> , 299 pp., 32 plates.                                  |
| (7) GARDNER, P.   | <i>Thessaly to Aetolia</i> , 234 pp., 32 plates.  |
| (8) HEAD, B. V.   | <i>Central Greece (Locris, Phocis, Boeotia and Euboea)</i> , 220 pp., 24 plates.            |
| (9) WROTH, W.     | <i>Crete and the Aegean Islands</i> , 199 pp., 29 plates.                                   |
| (10) GARDNER, P.  | <i>Peloponnesus (excluding Corinth)</i> , 238 pp., 37 plates.                               |
| (11) HEAD, B. V.  | <i>Attica, Megaris, Aegina</i> , 243 pp., 26 plates.  |
| (12) HEAD, B. V.  | <i>Corinth, Colonies of Corinth, etc.</i> , 247 pp., 39 plates.                             |
| (13) WROTH, W.    | <i>Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia and the Kingdom of Bosphorus</i> , 296 pp., 39 plates.     |
| (14) HEAD, B. V.  | <i>Ionia</i> , 509 pp., 35 plates, 1 map.   |
| (15) WROTH, W.    | <i>Mysia</i> , 252 pp., 35 plates, 1 map.   |
| (16) POOLE, R. S. | <i>Alexandria and the Nomes</i> , 495 pp., 32 plates.                                       |
| (17) WROTH, W.    | <i>Troas, Aeolis and Lesbos</i> , 343 pp., 43 plates, 1 map.                                |



- |                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| (18) HEAD, B. V.        | <i>Caria, Cos, Rhodes, etc.</i> , 443 pp., 45 plates, 1 map.  |
| (19) HILL, G. F.        | <i>Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia</i> , 476 pp., 44 plates, 1 map.  |
| (20) WROTH, W.          | <i>Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria</i> , 432 pp., 38 plates, 1 map.   |
| (21) HILL, G. F.        | <i>Lycaonia, Isauria and Cilicia</i> , 427 pp., 40 plates, 1 map.   |
| (22) HEAD, B. V.        | <i>Lydia</i> , 590 pp., 45 plates, 1 map.   |
| (23) WROTH, W.          | <i>Parthia</i> , 377 pp., 39 plates, 1 map.   |
| (24) HILL, G. F.        | <i>Cyprus</i> , 203 pp., 26 plates, 1 map and Cypriote nomenclature.  |
| (25) HEAD, B. V.        | <i>Pbrygia</i> , 491 pp., 53 plates, 1 map.   |
| (26) HILL, G. F.        | <i>Phoenicia</i> , 470 pp., 45 plates, 1 map and synoptic table of Phoenician eras.   |
| (27) HILL, G. F.        | <i>Palestine (Galilee, Samaria and Judaea)</i> , 474 pp., 42 plates, 1 map and index of Jewish inscriptions.  |
| (28) HILL, G. F.        | <i>Arabia, Mesopotaia and Persia, (Nabatea, Arabia, Provincia, S. Arabia, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Assyria, Persia, Alexandrine Empire of the East, Persia, Elymais, Characene)</i> , 573 pp., 55 plates, 1 map. |
| (29) ROBINSON, E. S. G. | <i>Cyrenaica</i> , 429 pp., 47 plates.  |

## RETURN OF BOOK FORMERLY SOLD AS A DUPLICATE

In a sale of duplicates in 1787, the British Museum sold an edition of an anonymous compilation of recipes for curing bodily ailments (sore eyes, 'mygrame in the hed', deafness, nose-bleeding, toothache, coughs, colds, fevers, jaundice, and a great many others), *The Treasure of Pore Men*, printed in London in 1540 by Robert Redman. The great popularity of this book in the sixteenth century produced numerous editions, and was probably the reason why few copies of the early editions have survived.

Of the first edition, printed c. 1526, the only recorded copy in this country is at Cambridge University. Two editions came out in 1539, one printed by Robert Redman, the other—probably pirated—by Thomas Petyt: the Museum has both of these. In 1540 both Redman and Petyt reprinted their editions of the previous year.

The Museum has never owned Petyt's 1540 edition but in the eighteenth century it possessed a copy of Redman's edition. This it sold at its 1787 'Sale of Duplicates', presumably on the grounds that the text (though not the typesetting) was identical with that of the other editions.

This particular 'duplicate' was acquired in 1904 by the United States Surgeon General's Library which has since been incorporated in the National Library of Medicine. That great library which now has another copy of the edition, has at the instance of its Director, Dr Frank B. Rogers, most generously restored the so-called 'British Museum Duplicate' to its original home.

# ADDINGTON

## BRASS-RUBBINGS

Brass-rubbings are notorious for their unwieldiness, and specimens of the Museum's splendid collections can seldom be placed on public view. The temporary closing of the Grenville Library as an Exhibition Gallery, while the roof above is being reconstructed, has provided a rare opportunity to show a few of the smaller and more decorative specimens.

More than 8,000 engraved monumental brasses still survive in English churches, the earliest dating from the thirteenth century. Their use as a form of personal memorial is thought to have originated in the Low Countries, and Continental—especially Flemish—workmanship is often apparent in their style. They are found most commonly in areas, such as East Anglia, where no local stone exists that is suitable for sculptured monuments.

The practice of reproducing brasses by rubbing, or making pressings of them, has been common in England at least since the eighteenth century, and has resulted in the formation of a valuable corpus of material for the study of such subjects as medieval costume and armour. The most satisfactory method of reproduction is now recognized to be rubbing with cobblers' heelball—a hard black wax used in shoe-making—on white paper laid over the brass. The rubbings that have been placed on view were all made in this way by the Reverend Henry Addington, vicar of Langford, in Bedfordshire, about the middle of the nineteenth century, and reproduce fourteenth- and fifteenth-century brasses. The Addington collection comprises, altogether, some 2,600 rubbings, arranged by date and subject in fifty-four elephant-sized volumes, and is the most comprehensive and, pictorially, the most distinguished of those now kept in the Department of Manuscripts.



*Rubbing of monumental brass of John Cray, Esquire  
to Richard II, 1392, at Chinnor, Oxon*



## MAYA EXHIBITION RECALLS THE PIONEER WORK OF A. P. MAUDSLAY

The Department of Ethnography has arranged a small exhibition of Maya archaeology in the outer part of the Maudslay room.



*The finest known Maya painted pottery vessel, the Nebaj vase, acquired by the British Museum in 1930. Now in the case of select Maya treasures which forms part of the newly-opened Maya room. The painting is in black and red on a cream ground. The figures are two Maya dignitaries with characteristically compressed foreheads. The symbols are in the Maya hieroglyphic system of writing*

The exhibition is severely limited in scope owing to lack of space but includes most of the Museum's excellent collection of jade ornaments, eccentric flints, which were chipped to represent various animal and insect forms, and a selection of pottery representative of both classic and post-classic periods. Among the most interesting pottery objects are a number of 'whistle figurines' moulded to show various aspects of Maya life. These include players of the Maya ball game, elaborately clothed in protective clothing reminiscent of modern American football players. Sculpture is represented by plaster casts made by Alfred P. Maudslay in the latter part of the nineteenth century. One of these shows part of the inside of the lower temple of the Jaguars at Chichen Itza. The original colours have been reproduced from the evidence provided by a water colour sketch made at about the same time by Miss Adela Breton.

There is singularly little knowledge in this country of the Ancient Civilizations of the Maya who reached heights of achievement in architecture and mathematics comparable to those of Ancient Greece, and an attempt has been made in this exhibition to convey a greater understanding of the subject than could be gleaned from the objects themselves by supplementing the display with photographs, maps and drawings. These photographs, taken by Maudslay over seventy years ago, bear comparison with the best modern work. They are of special interest as showing the state of the famous sites he visited, and serve as a reminder of his great pioneering work.



*Partial view of the exhibition of Masterpieces of prehistoric Europe and Roman Britain recently opened*



## BRITISH MUSEUM TRUSTEES

Of the twenty-five Trustees to be appointed under the terms of the British Museum Act, 1963, which became operative on 30 September, twenty-one appointments have so far been announced.

Her Majesty The Queen has been pleased to appoint the Most Hon. The Marquess of Cambridge, G.C.V.O., to be Her Trustee.

The Prime Minister has made the following appointments:

N. G. Annan, Esq., O.B.E. (Provost, King's College, Cambridge)

T. S. R. Boase, Esq., F.B.A. (President, Magdalen College, Oxford)

The Rt Hon. Viscount Boyd of Merton, C.H.

The Archbishop of Canterbury

The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, K.T., G.B.E., D.L.

The Rt Hon. Lord Eccles, K.C.V.O.

Professor H. J. Emeleus, C.B.E., F.R.S. (Professor of Inorganic Chemistry, Cambridge

Sir Ifor Evans (Provost, University College, London) [University]

Sir Cyril Hinshelwood, O.M. (Professor of Chemistry, Oxford University)

The Rt Hon. Lord Normanbrook, G.C.B.

Professor C. F. A. Pantin, F.R.S. (Professor of Zoology, Cambridge University)

The Rt Hon. Viscount Radcliffe, G.B.E.

The Hon. Sir Steven Runciman, F.B.A.

Dame Mary Smieton, D.B.E. (Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education (lately))

Sir Richard Thompson, Bt, M.P.

The Treasury, on the nominations of the Presidents of the Royal Society, the Royal Academy, the British Academy and the Society of Antiquaries of London respectively have appointed Trustees as follows:

Professor P. M. S. Blackett, F.R.S.

W. T. Monnington, Esq., R.A.

Sir Mortimer Wheeler, C.I.E., M.C.

Dr Joan Evans, P.S.A.

The Trustees have themselves appointed to the Board Sir William Hayter, K.C.M.G., Warden of New College, Oxford. Further appointments will be announced in due course.

At their meeting on 9 November, the Trustees elected Lord Radcliffe as their Chairman. Lord Radcliffe has been a Trustee of the British Museum since 1957.

*To be published in Spring 1964:*

### ANGLO-SAXON ORNAMENTAL METALWORK 700-1100 IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

A catalogue of nearly two hundred pieces of Christian ornamental metalwork which make the British Museum's collection the most important, for this material, in the world. The catalogue will include an introductory art-historical and typological study as well as a hand-list of the comparative material outside the British Museum.

## A TEMPORARY SETTING OF PREHISTORIC AND ROMANO-BRITISH ANTIQUITIES

A new exhibition is now open in the Iron Age gallery of the British Museum. It contains a relatively small but representative selection of Prehistoric and Romano-British Antiquities. With the Masterpieces exhibition in the Early Christian Room, it will enable the public to see a good series from this part of the collections during the next two or three years until the rebuilding of the Central Saloon area is finished and the new permanent exhibitions are mounted there. The present exhibition lines a corridor through the Iron Age gallery, and behind the temporary cases part of the reserve collection of the same periods is housed and available to students. This, with much of the other Prehistoric and Romano-British reserve now housed in other parts of the building, will in due course be moved into carefully planned accommodation in the Central Saloon area.

Starting at the west end, the exhibits illustrate successive Prehistoric periods, British material being on the left and that from continental Europe and elsewhere on the right. Roman Britain is featured at the east end, and the visitor then passes into the Early Christian Room, where for the last year masterpieces of Prehistoric Britain (including the finest examples of Iron Age Art), Prehistoric Europe and Roman Britain have been on display.

The Iron Age Gallery exhibition consists almost entirely of associated groups—'organic' units of material from sites such as the Mesolithic settlement at Star Carr, the Iron Age defended farmstead at Staple Howe, the Belgic burials at Welwyn, cemeteries of the El Argar culture in southern Spain and the Lausitz culture of Germany and Poland, Hallstatt period graves in Wurtemberg and Celtic chieftains' graves of the Marne. Other exhibits illustrate the Roman Army in Britain and the wrecked cargo of Roman Samian ware from Pudding Pan rock.

Some objects are here on view for the first time—not only recent finds, but, for example, the recently restored original firedog from Welwyn, while other groups such as the Neuenheiligen hoard are now seen in their entirety for the first time since 1939. One case is reserved for special exhibits.

## A MISSING BOOK RESTORED

Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., the oldest Catholic University in the United States, has just celebrated its 175th anniversary by restoring to the British Museum a book which was stolen in the early years of the Museum's history. It is a volume of the famous collection of Thomason Tracts, described by Carlyle as 'the most valuable set of documents connected with English history; greatly preferable to all the sheep-skins in the Tower and other places, for informing the English what the English were in former times'.

George Thomason, a London bookseller originally sympathetic to the Parliamentary cause, began about the time of the meeting of the Long Parliament in November 1640



to try to collect a copy of every book, pamphlet and newspaper published in England as it came from the press. Since the outbreak of the Civil War was marked by a complete collapse of literary censorship and consequently a tremendous outbreak of political pamphleteering this was a formidable task, but Thomason carried it through with such success that, when he ceased to collect on the day of the Coronation of Charles II, 23 April 1661, he had amassed over 22,000 separate pieces. After they had been bound in over 2,000 volumes and carefully catalogued, Thomason tried unsuccessfully to sell them to King Charles II. They remained unsold in Oxford until ten years after Thomason's death in 1666 and then came into the hands of Samuel Mearne, the royal bookseller and binder, who apparently bought them on the understanding that they were to go to the Royal Library. No money was forthcoming, however, and it was nearly a century before, in 1762, they were purchased from one of Mearne's descendants and presented to the nine-year-old British Museum by George III.

By then it is probable that a few of the original volumes had gone astray, but this one reached the Museum, for it bears the Museum's stamp and is lettered on the covers 'GIFT OF G.III'. The original calf binding is of considerable interest since no other volume in the collection has survived with its original back. It contains five theological tracts, dating from the years 1648-51; all of them are certainly rare since no other copies of them have been acquired by the Museum, while two are apparently unique.

It is not known when it was stolen from the Museum; it was missing when the tracts were re-catalogued in 1847 and it had hitherto been assumed that it had never reached the Museum. Nor is it known when it crossed the Atlantic, nor even when it reached Georgetown, where it was found not in the University Library, but among the University Archives. It was recognized by Dr Franklin B. Williams jun, a distinguished American scholar, who has done much research work at Bloomsbury, and through his good offices, and the generosity of the President and Directors of the University has now returned to join its fellows.

## TEMPORARY EXHIBITIONS

### THE GRAPHIC WORK OF GOYA

An exhibition of etchings and lithographs from the collection of Tomás Harris, Esq., with preparatory drawings lent by the Prado Museum in the department of Prints and Drawings, December 1963 to 29 February 1964. An illustrated catalogue has been issued at 2s 6d.

### EXHIBITION OF ORIENTAL PAINTINGS AND ANTIQUITIES

held in the Gallery of Oriental Art from November 1963 to April 1964. A catalogue is available, 6d.

### DEPARTMENT OF MANUSCRIPTS

The following temporary exhibitions will be on view in the department during the first half of 1964: January and February, Bede and Northumbrian Christianity; March and April, The Cult of the Saints in the Middle Ages; May and June, Henry III and Simon de Montfort.

### DEPARTMENT OF PRINTED BOOKS

An exhibition of scientific discovery 1543 to 1963 will be held in the King's Library from 15 February to 19 April 1964. Some 120 items will be displayed in twenty-two cases.

## FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS

The following titles will be published early in the new year:

**FOUR HUNDRED YEARS OF MUSIC PRINTING** by A. Hyatt King. A short account of the development of the three main processes—printing from moveable type, from engraved plates and by lithography—in relation to the growth of musical composition, covering the period from 1473 to c. 1870. While particular attention is paid to the general European centres of music printing, some mention is also made of developments in the Americas.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  in., 32 pp + 16 plates + 4 plates in colour *February 10 5s*

**THE PORTLAND VASE** by D. E. L. Haynes. The author traces the history of the Portland Vase since 1642. The frieze carved on it represents the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, interpreted in the booklet and compared with previous summarized interpretations.

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  in., 32 pp + 16 plates + frontispiece in colour *February 10 5s*

**MAYA JADES** by Adrian Digby. The fine collection of Maya jades in the British Museum serves as the major source of the material discussed with additional references to the excavation reports of the division of historical research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  in., 32 pp + 16 plates + line illustrations in text + coloured frontispiece *February 10 5s*

**ANGLO-SAXON PENNIES** by Michael Dolley. Strictly speaking silver coins which replaced gold at the end of the seventh century, are the first of the pennies, and it is pennies they are called in the laws of King Ine of Wessex (688–725). The author gives a fascinating account of the fortunes of the English penny between its introduction towards the end of the eighth century and the Norman conquest.

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  in., 32 pp + 16 plates + coloured frontispiece *February 10 5s*

**HANDBOOK TO THE COLLECTIONS OF EARLY CHINESE ANTIQUITIES** by William Watson. A systematic discussions of objects from the Neolithic period to the Han dynasty (206 B.C. to A.D. 220). To the end of the Shang dynasty (supposedly 1027 B.C.) the material is treated historically but later material has been divided into groups and treated very fully and with numerous illustrations both in line and halftone.

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  in., 104 pp of text + 48 plates *January 27* paper covered 10s 6d; cloth 16s

**INTRODUCTORY GUIDE TO THE EGYPTIAN COLLECTIONS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.** In the thirty years which have elapsed since the last edition of this guide was published much has been learnt about the ancient Egyptians and many important additions have been made to the Egyptian collections of the Museum. For these reasons the guide has been completely rewritten to provide an outline of the physical, historical, and cultural background of the collection which comprises some sixty-five thousand objects in the department of Egyptian antiquities. forthcoming

**TITLE INDEX TO THE DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF CHINESE MANUSCRIPTS FROM TUNHUANG** by E. D. Grinstead.

$10\frac{1}{2} \times 8$  in., 44 pp forthcoming, about 9s



# SAXTON'S COUNTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES



## LITHO OFFSET PRINTS IN COLOUR

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| Map of England and Wales—1579   | Norfolk (an Elizabethan map of the Broads)—1574   |
| Carnarvonshire and Anglesey (an Elizabethan map of Snowdonia)—1578        | Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and Rutland (one map)—1576 |
| Cornwall—1576   | Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Berkshire (one map)—1574                                   |
| Cumberland and Westmorland (an Elizabethan map of the Lake District)—1576 | Shropshire—1577   |
| Derbyshire—1577   | Somersetshire—1575  |
| Devonshire—1575   | Staffordshire—1577  |
| Dorsetshire—1575  | Suffolk—1575  |
| Essex—1576  | Warwickshire and Leicestershire (one map)—1576  |
| Gloucestershire—1577  | Wiltshire—1576  |
| Hampshire—1575  | Worcestershire—1577   |
| Hertfordshire—1577  | average size 20 × 24½ in., 7s 6d each. Postage and packing 1s 6d extra                      |
| Kent, Surrey, Sussex and Middlesex (one map)—1575                         | Yorkshire—1577  |
| Lancashire—1577   | 25 × 33 in., 10s 6d each. Postage and packing 1s 6d extra                                   |
| Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire (one map)—1576                           |   |

Orders should be addressed:

The Director (Publications) The British Museum London WC1

*Mackays of Chatham*

# THE BRITISH MUSEUM QUARTERLY NEWS SUPPLEMENT

APRIL-MAY 1964

## THE HYPNEROTOMACHIA POLIPHILI

The *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, or Polia's Lover's *Strife of Love in a Dream*, as our own Elizabethan translator charmingly and accurately called it, is one of the most celebrated books of the fifteenth century. It was illustrated by an unknown master with woodcuts of haunting beauty, and printed by the great Aldus Manutius of Venice in a noble type with majestic setting and presswork. Gutenberg's *Forty-Two-Line Bible* of 1455 and the *Hypnerotomachia* of 1499 confront one another from opposite ends of the incunabular period with equal and contrasting pre-eminence. The Gutenberg *Bible* is sombrely and sternly German, Gothic, Christian and mediaeval; the *Hypnerotomachia* is radiantly and graciously Italian, classic, pagan and renescent. These are the two supreme masterpieces of the art of printing, and stand at the two poles of human endeavour and desire.

The twentieth-century possessor of the *Hypnerotomachia* is tempted to delight in contemplation of the woodcuts and printing—as well he may—and look no further into the mystery. But the splendour of illustrations and typography is itself a response to the beauty and significance of the text; and the text, a dream-allegory of a lover's journey in quest of his lost mistress, is the enigmatic emblem of the strangely divided life, culture and personality of the author. For a fuller understanding of the *Hypnerotomachia* as a unified and still living work of art, we must first try to rediscover the dream and the dreamer; and after sharing the author's journey through his sleeping and waking life, we may hope for clearer insight into the achievement of the artist and printer. Let us remember as we go Poliphilo's sub-title: '*where he teaches that all human things are nothing but a dream, and records by the way many matters well worth knowing*'.

★ ★ ★

The *Hypnerotomachia* is a masterpiece of typography, from which the fortunate reader—whether of the original, or of the present excellent facsimile—may derive the unwearying pleasure of a lifetime. And yet, in a deeper analysis, we must attribute part of our delight, part of our sense of the unfading life in this immortal book, to the ever-present traces of the human element which preserve it from a lifeless perfection. Some of these, in our age of mechanical printing, may seem faults; if we take any page at random we find a sprinkling of bent or broken sorts, dotless i's, an e or a with blotted bowl, letters over-inked or under inked, raised, dropped or slanted, a deliberate haphazard choice of level or sloping hyphens, a curved line or uneven line-ending, perhaps a short or long page due to miscalculation of copy or the need to introduce a woodcut. In this interplay of purpose and chance, care and carelessness, skill and fallibility, is the secret of life in an artefact: we have been admitted to eternal moments in the autumn of 1499, when this book was produced by human hands







and brains and man-made tools. These signs of the craftsman's intervention may be compared to the brushstrokes in a great painting, the chisel-marks in a carving, and contrasted with the inhuman efficiency of machine typography. Equally important is the printer's individual response to his individual text and author; and in the organic tension of this relationship the *Hypnerotomachia* has never been surpassed. Typography here has expressed not only the art of Aldus and his men, but the life of the text, even the anxious, guilty, solitary, intelligent, carnally spiritual mind of Francesco Colonna as he walked in Venice in the 1490's.

The future hope of printing lies in the new miracles of film and electronic setting by which the whole art will be revolutionized, for good or for bad. If these techniques only replace the craftsman by inhuman mechanism, they will fail. They will succeed if, by immeasurably increasing his resources, they reinstate the conscious and unconscious powers of the human artist. 'What is gradually coming into being', said a writer in *The Times Literary Supplement* on 19 July 1963, 'is an expressive typography in which the aesthetic means used are related directly to the sense of the text.' Such a typography, often based upon a close relationship with the author's or scribe's manuscript, was not unusual in the fifteenth century, and the *Hypnerotomachia* is one of its supreme manifestations. The new typographer of the late twentieth century may be invited to study the work of his brothers five hundred years since, not to imitate or copy, but to enrich his own sense of the infinite possibilities of his art.

From The Introduction on the Dream, the Dreamer, the Artist, and the Printer by George D. Painter, issued with the facsimile edition of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* of 1499, printed by L. van Leer of Amsterdam in collotype on paper made by W. & R. Balston of Maidstone, reproducing the copy in Newnham College, Cambridge. Reprinted by kind permission of the publishers, Eugrammia Press (London, S.W.1).



## THE NATIONAL REFERENCE LIBRARY OF SCIENCE AND INVENTION

Proposals for a National Reference Library of Science and Invention were outlined in a report by the Advisory Council on Scientific Policy's Scientific Library and Technical Information Committee published in 1951.

It was decided to place the new library under the administration of the Museum, and to create its collections by amalgamating the Patent Office Library and the scientific collections in the British Museum.

The new library will occupy the lower part of a new Patent Office Building to be erected on the South Bank to the east of Waterloo Bridge, and is expected to be completed in the autumn of 1967.

The new library will contain *current* scientific and technological literature, as well as patents, from all over the world. Of the initial stock some 400,000 volumes will come from the Patent Office Library, the remainder from the British Museum, largely from new acquisitions.

The library is designed to cater for the working scientist, and its collections will be entirely on open access. Besides a general reading room and a Patents reading room, there will be several specialist reading rooms as well as information services tailored to the needs of readers. There will be a constant flow of material between Bloomsbury and the Science Library: current scientific material will join the up-to-date reference collections at the South Bank and can be supplemented whenever necessary by older material brought from Bloomsbury, while older material will be weeded out from the South Bank and returned to Bloomsbury.

The library will be staffed by specialists now being recruited by the British Museum and by the present staff of the Patent Office Library, under Miss Maysie Webb, who is Librarian of the Patent Office and Librarian-Designate of the new Library.

The task of acquiring material for the collections of the new library was begun in 1963/64 with the aid of a grant from the Treasury. The rate of accessions will be increased in 1964/5 and subsequent years with the help of the increased Treasury grant-in-aid to the British Museum, so that the library will be more than adequately stocked when it opens to the public. By this time also the majority of the staff will have been recruited and trained, and a classification system appropriate to an open-access library of this scope and size will have been worked out and applied to the contents.

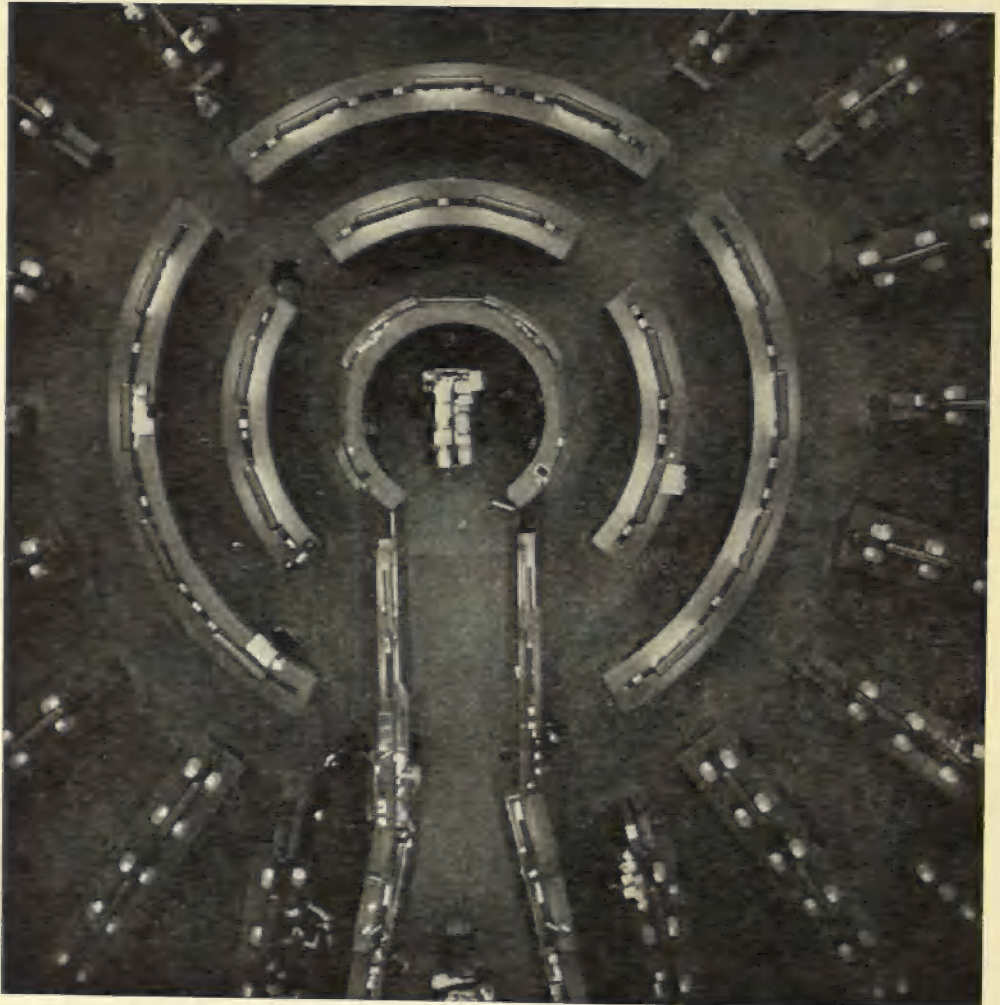
★ ★ ★

### NEW ACQUISITIONS

At a press view in April the following recent acquisitions were shown among others, a fine early Attic amphora of a type hitherto unrepresented in the collection, a marble figure of a saint from India, tenth century A.D., and a sandstone group from Central India of the late tenth century A.D. Among drawings acquired by the department of Prints and Drawings a group of twenty-four from the collection of the late Sir Bruce Ingram is outstanding as well as works by Charles Parrocel (1688-1752), and Joseph Crawhall (1860-1913). The department of Oriental Antiquities acquired a Persian Tombstone, inscribed in Arabic, and dated A.D. 1109 as well as a bronze basin with engraved decoration and copper inlay from Persia of the fourteenth century, and a Persian bronze mortar.



## RE-OPENING OF READING ROOM AND EXTENSION OF EVENING SERVICE



*A bird's eye view of the redecorated Reading Room*

The *Reading Room* of the British Museum, which was closed for repair and redecoration at the beginning of October, was reopened to readers on Monday, 3 February.

EXTENSION  
OF EVENING SERVICE

The Reading Room, North Library, and State Paper Room which have for some time been open until 9 p.m. on Tuesdays and Thursdays, will remain open until 9 p.m. on Wednesdays also.

NEWSPAPER LIBRARY  
AT COLINDALE

The Reading Room of the British Museum Newspaper Library at Colindale will be closed from 4 to 23 May for cleaning, redecoration, and alterations to the lighting.



*. . . and how it was done*

## FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS

CATALOGUE OF THE LORD CHAMBERLAIN'S PLAYS 9½ × 6¼ in., ix + 359 pp.	April 27	£4 10s
ENGLISH COPPER, TIN AND BRONZE COINS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM 1558-1958, by C. Wilson Peck New edition, 10½ × 8¼ in., xx + 646 pp., 50 plates		about £5 12s 6d
CUNEIFORM TEXTS FROM BABYLONIAN TABLETS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, part xlv (54 plates)	April 27	£1 5s
CATALOGUE OF ADDITIONS TO THE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, 1841-5 (reprint of 1850 edition) 10¼ × 6¼ in., vii + 862 pp.	April 27	£4 4s
CATALOGUE OF ADDITIONS TO THE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, 1836-40 (reprint of 1843 edition) 10¼ × 6¼ in., viii + 300 pp.	April 27	£2 2s
CATALOGUE OF HEBREW PRINTED BOOKS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM by J. Zedner (reprint of the 1867 edition) 9¾ × 6 in., xii + 892 pp.	April 27	£4 4s
GENERAL CATALOGUE OF PRINTED BOOKS, SHAKESPEARE OFFPRINT 13⅝ × 9 in., vi + 517 columns	April 20	15s



## THE GENERAL CATALOGUE OF PRINTED BOOKS

The General Catalogue of Printed Books now in use by readers in the Reading Room of the British Museum consists of large loose-leaf volumes containing columns of entries taken from the latest available printed edition of the catalogue, interspaced with individual printed entries for more recent accessions to the collections. The latter are added as nearly as possible in their correct alphabetical relation to the columns, and the working copy of the catalogue in the Reading Room is thus kept as up-to-date as possible.

There have been three published versions of the General Catalogue, which are known as GK I, II and III, respectively.

The British Museum was in fact the first great library of its size to produce a printed catalogue, making its collections known to the world of scholarship at large, not simply to its readers. This first edition of the General Catalogue (GK I) was published between the years 1881 and 1900, with supplementary volumes published between 1900 and 1905.

This soon went out of print, at a time when demand for it was increasing from new libraries in many parts of the world, more especially in the U.S.A.

Work was therefore begun on new edition, not only incorporating new accessions, but based on a thorough revision of the old entries, many of which fell short of the requirements of modern bibliographical description. The welcome accorded to the project was reflected in the fact that the Rockefeller Foundation provided special grants to American libraries to enable them to become subscribers. The first volume of this second edition (GK II) was published in 1931, but the work made slow progress. The original estimate made in 1929 provided for an edition in about 165 volumes, to be issued at the rate of 12 volumes annually and completed in some 14 years. By 1939 it had proved possible to issue only 30 volumes, and the whole programme was then completely disrupted by the war and its consequences. It became clear that the task of revising the millions of individual entries throughout the alphabetical sequence might never be finished. Fifty-one volumes were produced between the years 1931 and 1954, covering the letters A-DEZ.

It was obvious that some other method had to be found of producing an up-to-date edition of the catalogue in as short a time as possible, and the decision was taken to reproduce the existing entries from the Museum's working copy of the catalogue without further editing, including new accessions up to the end of the year 1955. For this new edition (GK III) the entries are photographed in correct alphabetical sequence and reproduced by offset lithography, so that neither revision of entries nor proof reading is necessary.

This method has worked extremely well in practice and when the edition is completed it will comprise some 6 million entries, filling something like 300 large folio volumes. Approximately 48 volumes appear every year and are dispatched to subscribers all over the world. The first volumes were dispatched in October 1960, and 160 volumes have appeared so far.

## WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE AND CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE

### A QUATERCENTENARY EXHIBITION

An exhibition of books, manuscripts, maps, music and other illustrative material, chosen almost entirely from the Museum's collections, will be held in the King's Library of the British Museum from 23 April to 12 July 1964.

The principal aim of the exhibition is to give some idea of the age in which Shakespeare lived; of his work as a dramatist and poet; and of the way in which the plays and poems have been handed down to us. Special sections are devoted to geography and topography, the social and political background, the Wars of the Roses as seen through the cycle of Shakespeare's history plays dealing with that period, the Quartos and the First Folio, a detailed analysis of *Hamlet*, Shakespeare on the later stage from the Restoration to the present day. There are sections on the Poems and Sonnets, Shakespeare's illustrators, on music in Shakespeare, Shakespearean criticism, and on the influence of Shakespeare in and outside Europe.

Among the topographical and geographical exhibits will be shown Saxton's map of Warwickshire (1576), Norden's plans of London and of Westminster (1593), Ortelius's *Theatre of the Whole World* (1606), a manuscript chart of Plymouth, Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations* (1589), and various navigation instruments and books.

The early quartos will include first editions of *Richard II*, *Henry IV*, pt. 1, 2, *Richard III*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Hamlet*. Copies of the First, Second and Third Folios will also be on view, and, where possible, first editions of the Poems and Sonnets. Of special interest is a copy of the Stationers' Register, containing the entry for the First Folio, lent to the exhibition by the Master and Wardens of the Worshipful Company of Stationers and Newspaper Makers.

Manuscript items include Shakespeare's signature on a mortgage dated March 1612 (1613) for the gatehouse of Blackfriars, London, a drawing of New Place, the *Book of Sir Thomas More*, a record of a performance of *Twelfth Night*, and an autograph addition made by Garrick to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

Garrick's casket carved in 1768 from the wood of the mulberry tree at Stratford, traditionally said to have been planted by Shakespeare himself, porcelain figures of Garrick and of James Quin, and various theatre tokens are also shown.

Drawings by Blake in an extra-illustrated copy of the Second Folio, and a volume of drawings for Mrs Siddon's dresses are also on view.

Early editions of *The Jew of Malta*, *Edward II*, *Tamburlaine*, and *Doctor Faustus* are included in the section devoted to Christopher Marlowe.



## THE VIRGINIA OF SIR WALTER RALEIGH AND JOHN WHITE

Complementary exhibitions are on view in the Gallery of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum and at the American Embassy to mark the publication by the British Museum and the University of North Carolina Press of *The American Drawings of John White, 1577-1590*. The exhibition at the British Museum consists of the original drawings and early related graphic material, MSS. and printed books. The exhibition at the American Embassy shows key publications on White's work and a survey of the new book, including all the colour plates and an account of the technique employed in their production. Both exhibitions are open to the public from 7 April until 31 May.

## SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERY 1543-1963

An exhibition to illustrate the part played by books and periodicals in disseminating scientific knowledge, recently on show in the King's Library, had been assembled from the whole range of scientific literature in the Museum's collections, and the choice had not been confined to older publications. Works of Copernicus, Galileo, Newton, and Linnaeus were shown along with articles concerning the early stages in the development of penicillin, Einstein's early papers on relativity and the more recent work on D.N.A.

The exhibition included lunar and celestial maps from four centuries, Russian and American publications on space research and a selection from the mounting flood of scientific literature from China and Japan.

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### PUBLICATIONS FROM THE BRITISH MUSEUM

### 特 別 展 示 の 御 案 内

昨年、第一回が好評裡に催されました The British Museum 出版物の特別展示、即売を、皆様の御要望に応じて、再び企画致しました。今回は特に展示出版物の選択範囲をひろげ、出品点数も豊富に準備致しました。

本催しの御知らせを兼ね、御案内申し上げます。

期 間    自 2 月 17 日    至 2 月 29 日  
場 所    日本橋 丸善  
三階 洋書売場 特別コーナー

*The title of the Catalogue of an exhibition of British Museum publications, now being shown in various towns of Japan*

## BRITISH MUSEUM TRUSTEES

The Trustees of the British Museum announce that they have appointed Sir Kenneth Clark to the Board.

### THE B.M.Q. NEWS SUPPLEMENT

The first issue of the *News Supplement* appeared in May 1962 (Number 1), and subsequent issues may be numbered as follows: September 1962 (2), January 1963 (3), April 1963 (4), July 1963 (5), October 1963 (6), January 1964 (7), April-May 1964 (8).

### THE GERMAN SHORT-TITLE CATALOGUE

The *German Short-title Catalogue* is a source of pure joy for the student of the Reformation or of any other aspect of sixteenth century European history. Here are collections in depth, thousands of titles that can never be collected again. The great traditions of the Museum are incorporated succinctly in the short-title catalogues of early European printed books, and scholars in almost any field will be well advised to use them as primary points of departure.

Lawrence S. Thompson, University of Kentucky in *The American Book Collector*,  
January 1964

‘Die Druckschriftensammlung des Britischen Museums hat es sich zur Aufgabe gestellt, länderweise die Bucherscheinungen mit Kurztiteln in Katalogen herauszugeben. So umfasst dieser Kurztitelkatalog die Bestände an Büchern, die in Deutschland und in deutschsprechenden Ländern in der Zeit von der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts und im 16. Jahrhundert erschienen sind. Dies ist nicht nur ein bedeutender Beitrag zur Drucker-geschichte, sondern zur allgemeinen Kulturgeschichte Deutschlands überhaupt. . . . Ein genaues alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Drucker und Verleger . . . beschliesst das bedeutende Werk.’

Dr Michael Stickler in BIBLOS (Vienna)

### ENGLISH MEDIEVAL GITTERN

The English Medieval gittern of the early fourteenth century recently purchased by the Trustees with the aid of generous contributions from the Pilgrim Trust, the National Art Collections Fund and a special grant from Parliament, has now been put on exhibition in the King Edward VII Gallery. Since its acquisition last December, the instrument has been examined and cleaned in the Research Laboratory of the Museum.

The Trustees have agreed to lend the instrument to the Shakespeare Exhibition to be held at the County Museum, Warwick where it will be seen from 24 April until 4 August and it has therefore been withdrawn from the King Edward VII Gallery on 17 April.



## FROM RECENT PUBLICATIONS

### EGYPTIAN GLASS

Though the ancient glaze is itself glass, and glass may be said therefore to have been known to the Egyptians at an early date, it was not until the Eighteenth Dynasty that the material was used independently, with the sporadic exception of some small beads and amulets. The technique which was applied to the making of glass vessels was a natural development of the technique of glazing, the composition core being replaced by one of sandy clay which was removed on the completion of the manufacture. In view, however, of the date of its first appearance in Egypt, some hundreds of years after the production of faience vessels and figures, it is possible that the introduction of the manufacture of glass vessels in Egypt was a consequence of the contact with Syrian cities following the military conquests of the early Eighteenth Dynasty.

The ancient glass was formed by strongly heating quartz sand and natron in clay crucibles with a small admixture of colouring material, normally a copper compound, perhaps malachite to produce both green and blue glass, though an analysis shows also the use of cobalt which would have been imported. Heating would be continued until the ingredients fused into a molten mass. The exact point at which to stop the heating was probably known by experience, but tongs may have been used to remove small quantities for testing. As the mass cooled, it might be poured into moulds, rolled out into thin rods or canes about  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. in diameter, or the crucible broken away and the mass left to be used as required. Examples of the raw glass, recovered from glass factories, may be seen in the Sixth Egyptian Room.

From *A General Introductory Guide to the Egyptian Collections* (1964).

### CAROLINGIAN ART

Art thus became a means of instruction and enlightenment, part of the programme of education through which the great ruler intended to raise his people from barbaric obscurity to European leadership. In the churches and monasteries, which were the centres of all his educational work, he possessed an instrument for organizing this artistic revival systematically. The clearness of purpose and the methodical and comprehensive way of putting it into practice is

not the least important feature that distinguishes the Carolingian Renaissance from the previous approaches of the North to Mediterranean art.

The great monasteries as well as the imperial palace had workshops attached to them. The most important centres were those situated near the heart of the Empire on the Lower Rhine and in Northern France; for instance, Trèves, Aix-la-Chapelle, Rheims, Metz and the monastery of St Martin of Tours, but great artistic activity was also displayed in the more outlying regions, as, for instance, in Salzburg and the Bavarian monasteries and at St Gall in Switzerland.

From *Early Medieval Art* by Ernst Kitzinger (reprinted 1964).

### JOHN WHITE OF LONDON

Despite the probable loss of some of his drawings at the hurried departure from Roanoke Island, White had with him on his return to England, in July 1586, a substantial body of sketches from which it is probable that he began to prepare the finished drawings (see pp. 24-25 below). During these months also he was turning himself into the organizer of a colony. Unlike many of his fellows, he had come back an enthusiast for America and determined to devote himself to taking out men, women and children to establish a permanent settlement there. The initiative for this venture apparently came from Sir Walter Raleigh, but John White seems to have been mainly instrumental in giving it effect, and it is likely that he joined with him as associates in the enterprise a number of people he had known in London.<sup>1</sup>

The arrangements were completed in the early days of 1587 and on 7 January 'The Gouvernour and Assistants of the Cittie of Raleigh in Virginea' obtained a corporate identity in a grant from Raleigh, 'Iohn White of London Gentleman' being named Governor together with twelve Assistants. We do not know precisely the terms on which this body was to operate, but its creation represented a substantial delegation of his powers by Sir Walter Raleigh and ensured some real autonomy to the new colony of which White was the embodiment and for which he bore great responsibilities. A grant of arms to the 'city', the Governor and the Assistants was made on the same day.<sup>2</sup>

During the first three months of the year White must have been occupied with supervising



the fitting out of the ships in the Thames and recruiting settlers. He was able to offer them 500 acres of land each for their personal participation in the venture alone<sup>3</sup> and doubtless larger quantities in return for modest investments in the enterprise. We know all too little about the people attracted, but it is probable that they were mainly family men who had some small capital of their own and were prepared to risk it in a pioneering venture. Amongst them was Ananias Dare, a member of the Company, who had married White's own daughter, Eleanor, of whom we now hear for the first time.<sup>4</sup> Doubtless other groups came into the venture through Raleigh and his friends. Parallel preparations were apparently going on in the Isle of Wight and in North Devon but we know little about them and they came to nothing. White's squadron consisted of three vessels: a ship, the *Lion*, a fly-boat and a sea-going pinnace which were brought round from London to Portsmouth in April and which lay in Cowes Roads for some days before leaving for Plymouth, whence they finally sailed on 8 May. White expected to have with him 150 people. In fact he brought 84 men, 17 women and 11 children, making, with himself, 113 potential settlers. The deficiency must point to the difficulty of obtaining investors who were willing to meet the risks involved. All that we know of the voyage and settlement derives from White's own narrative.<sup>5</sup>

From *The American Drawings of John White* by Paul Hulton and D. B. Quinn (1964).

<sup>1</sup> W. S. Powell, 'Roanoke colonists and explorers: an attempt at identification', *Carolina Historical Review*, vol. xxxiv (April 1957), pp. 202-26.

<sup>2</sup> Quinn, *Roanoke voyages*, pp. 506-12, 516.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Hariot, *A briefe and true report* (London, 1588), sig. E. 3r. See also Quinn, *Roanoke voyages*, p. 385.

<sup>4</sup> See Powell, pp. 225-6 and Quinn, *Roanoke voyages*, p. 508. Miss Louise Hall, Duke University, has found a reference to Ananias Dare, 'Tyler & Bricklayer' (Will of William Bateman, proved 25 June 1586, Somerset House, P.C.C., Windsor 31). This information was communicated by Mr William S. Powell, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

<sup>5</sup> Quinn, *Roanoke voyages*, pp. 515-38.

#### NEOLITHIC CULTURES

The relics of the earliest recognizable neolithic cultures are found in the tract of north China which is covered by loess, a soil constituted of

lime-rich deposits of wind-borne dust laid down during the pleistocene ice-age. The loess belt stretches from the south and east edges of the Ordos desert across the basin of the Yellow river, covering uplands and valley bottoms alike. In the south it ends at the foothills of the Ts'in Ling range, and the valley of the river Huai. To the west it reaches far along the river valleys of Kansu province, and on the east coast it extends from the mouth of the Huai river to the mouth of the Po Hai and the Liao Tung peninsula. Neolithic farmers prospered on this fertile and easily worked soil, and the Yellow river valley became as populous as the valleys of Egypt and Mesopotamia at a corresponding stage of their history. Three regional traditions of neolithic culture may be defined, characterized most obviously by the differences of their pottery: the Kansu neolithic culture with its urns of reddish clay, elaborately painted with geometric pattern in black, red and aubergine; the Yang Shao neolithic culture of Honan and Shensi, having as its finest pottery also a red ware painted in colours similar to those of Kansu, to which it is related; and, totally foreign to these traditions, the neolithic of north-east China, called the Lung Shan culture after an important site in Shantung. It is plausible to suppose unrelated cultural and ethnic origins for two groups of farming communities, the users of painted pottery on the one hand and the makers of the black Lung Shan ware on the other, who divided between them the valleys of the Yellow river and its tributaries.

The best of the painted urns of Kansu belong to the type called Pan Shan, after a cemetery from which hundreds of them were recovered. The shapes are nearly spherical, and have a well-formed lip, low and turned outwards, or a vertical neck with two pierced lugs on the edge. Generally two loop handles are placed on the sides at the widest point. The close-knit reddish paste is often of stone-ware hardness. The urns are hand-made; the mouths probably trued on a rotating device. In the ornament black and red are the commonest combination, with rarer purple and brown, and the boldest patterns are broad spiral bands and bands arranged around lozenge-shaped or circular panels.

From *Handbook to the Collections of early Chinese Antiquities* by William Watson (1964).



... authoritative, interestingly written, well illustrated and excellent value for five shillings . . .

THE TIMES EDUCATIONAL SUPPLEMENT in a recent review of *The Portland Vase, Maya Jades, Four Hundred Years of Music Printing, and Anglo-Saxon Pennies*.

#### FOUR HUNDRED YEARS OF MUSIC PRINTING

by A. HYATT KING

A short account of the development of the three main processes—printing from moveable type, from engraved plates and by lithography—in relation to the growth of musical composition, covering the period from 1473 to c. 1870. While particular attention is paid to the general European centres of music printing, some mention is also made of developments in the Americas.

#### THE PORTLAND VASE

by D. E. L. HAYNES

The author traces the history of the Portland Vase since 1642. The frieze carved on it represents the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, interpreted in the booklet and compared with previous summarized interpretations.

#### MAYA JADES

by ADRIAN DIGBY

The fine collection of Maya jades in the British Museum serves as the major source of the material discussed with additional references to the excavation reports of the division of historical research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

#### ANGLO-SAXON PENNIES

by MICHAEL DOLLEY

Strictly speaking silver coins which replaced gold at the end of the seventh century, are the first of the pennies, and it is pennies they are called in the laws of King Ine of Wessex (688–725). The author gives a fascinating account of the fortunes of the English penny between its introduction towards the end of the eighth century and the Norman conquest.

#### THE DRAWINGS OF REMBRANDT

by CHRISTOPHER WHITE

'... the fine illustrations in *The Drawings of Rembrandt*, an attractive booklet . . . ' THE TIMES EDUCATIONAL SUPPLEMENT

'It achieves the rare feat of being intended for the general public, but containing a text even experts can read with profit. . . ' THE DAILY TELEGRAPH

'... quite outstanding. At five shillings each, the books are eminently suitable for school libraries . . . ' THE SCHOOLMASTER

'... an imaginative enterprise . . . ' ANTIQUITY

'... they and the publications of the Victoria and Albert Museum are models of what such things should be . . . ' THE DAILY TELEGRAPH

#### THE BABYLONIAN LEGEND OF THE FLOOD

by EDMOND SOLLBERGER

This story is recorded in the cuneiform script, that oldest of all systems of writing, which for millennia was the great vehicle of civilization. Some of the clay tablets on which it was written were found at Ninevah in the course of excavations, sponsored by the British Museum, and it is in the British Museum that a fragment of the story was first identified.

#### PORTRAIT PAINTING FROM ROMAN EGYPT

by A. F. SHORE

The portraits of men, women and children on wood or canvas found with mummies from cemeteries of the Roman period in Egypt are among the more notable antiquities from an age which—in Egypt at least—is scarcely distinguished for the quality of its art.

#### GREEK TERRACOTTA FIGURES

by R. A. HIGGINS

A history of terracottas in Greek lands from the earliest times to the Roman Imperial period, illustrated by examples in the British Museum.

#### JOHANN GUTENBERG, THE INVENTOR OF PRINTING

by VICTOR SCHOLDERER

'The guide which Dr Scholderer has now provided is succinct, lucid, and above all sensible. . . ' THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

#### GREEK AND ROMAN POTTERY LAMPS

by D. M. BAILEY

The booklet describes the manufacture of pottery lamps and different aspects of their use in Greek and Roman times. A historical survey of the development of the various types of lamp used.

#### TURKISH MINIATURES

by G. M. MEREDITH-OWENS

The author throws light on the beginnings of miniature painting in the Islamic world and compares Turkish art with that of Persia.

# THE BRITISH MUSEUM QUARTERLY NEWS SUPPLEMENT

AUGUST 1964

## GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES IN A NEW SETTING

The need for an extensive reorganization of the Museum's classical collections to make them more intelligible and attractive to the ordinary visitor has long been recognized. At present the various branches of ancient art are shown in isolation from each other, the ground-floor being devoted entirely to sculpture while the minor arts are confined to the first floor, where the collections of vases, bronzes and terracottas are each displayed separately. Though convenient for the specialist, this arrangement undoubtedly afflicts the layman with a sense of monotony and makes it difficult for him to form a coherent picture of the development of ancient art as a whole. Moreover, his bewilderment is increased, when visiting the sculpture collection, by the irrational order in which the various periods are presented, Roman sculpture, for example, coming before Archaic Greek, Hellenistic sculpture before that of the fifth century.

The transfer of the sculptures of the Parthenon to the new Duveen Gallery, an operation completed in the summer of 1962, has provided a unique opportunity for a fundamental replanning of the Greek and Roman Department's ground-floor rooms, half of which now stand empty; and the Trustees have decided to devote them all to a mixed exhibition in which the most important sculptures will be displayed side-by-side with a selection of the finest contemporary vases, bronzes, terracottas, etc., and the periods of ancient art will be shown in chronological order from prehistoric to Roman times. The task of redesigning and refurnishing the rooms (apart from the former Mausoleum Room which is being rebuilt) has been entrusted by the Ministry of Public Building and Works to Professors R. Y. Goodden and R. D. Russell. The building work began at the end of June 1964 and is due to be finished in the autumn of 1965. It is hoped that some rooms will be opened to the public in the spring of 1966.

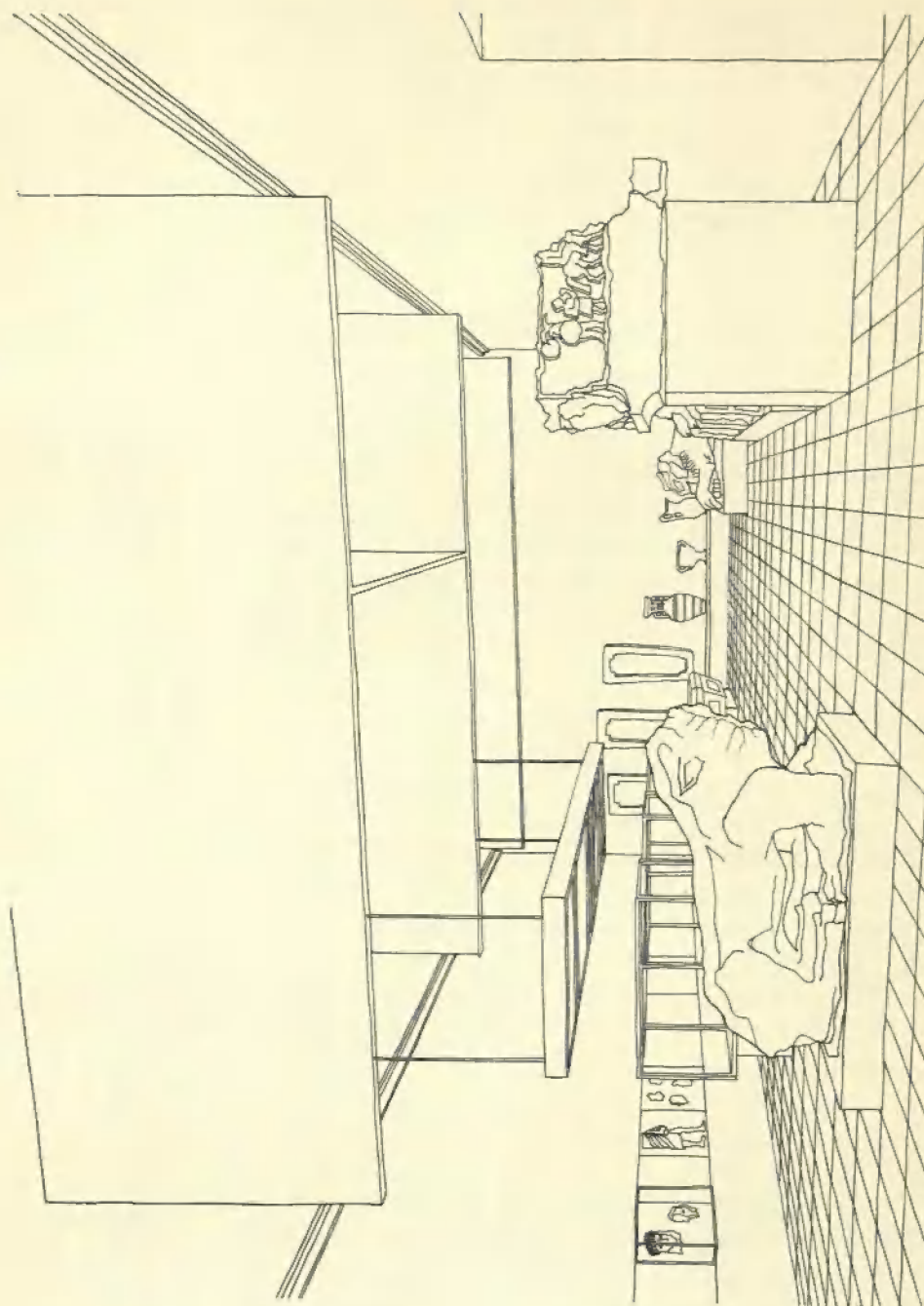
The following notes on their plans have been contributed by Professors Goodden and Russell:

The Trustees' decision, together with a list of objects carefully selected by the Department, constituted the Architects' brief. The Architects in considering the collection as now seen, felt that its main shortcomings were threefold.

1. The strong competition between the reproduced classical detail in the architecture of the building and the authentic but weathered, and often damaged, forms and details of the exhibits.







Carol Russell

*1st Archaic Room. View from the south-west corner with the Lion Tomb from Xantabos in the right foreground*

2. A pervading drabness of colour and similarity of tone which results in a total lack of dramatic impact.
3. The quality of the lighting both natural and artificial which generally speaking is very different from that for which the exhibits were intended and does not attempt to show particular things to their best advantage.

The problem before the Architects was, therefore, to display the collection in a prescribed sequence, providing for each exhibit a setting which invited interest and for the collection as a whole an ambience conducive to study and enjoyment, without competition in interest between the things displayed and the background against which they were seen.

Most of the competing architectural detail is concentrated in the ceilings and to mask this entirely would involve too heavy a proportion of the total expenditure envisaged. The Architects, have therefore, largely confined the simplification of the architectural background to those areas over which the eye must inevitably travel in looking at the things displayed. In most cases, this amounts to the lower half of the gallery walls, and, of course, the floors. In many galleries distracting detail in the ceilings can be sufficiently played down simply by painting.

The floors are now a hotch-potch of blue rubber, slate, York stone, granolithic and cast iron heating grilles. Of these, the rubber and the granolithic are clearly unworthy of what stands on them. The York stone is shaling so badly that dust from this source becomes a real problem.

From the point of view of maintenance and appearance it was, therefore, important that the existing floors be replaced. The Architects have selected for this purpose a biscuit-coloured 5 by 10 inch vitrified ceramic tile. This they felt would have the light reflective qualities essential in the lighting of Classical sculpture and would provide a serene and unifying background to the whole scheme.

#### BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE ROOMS IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

*The Cycladic Room* (the present Second Graeco-Roman Room)

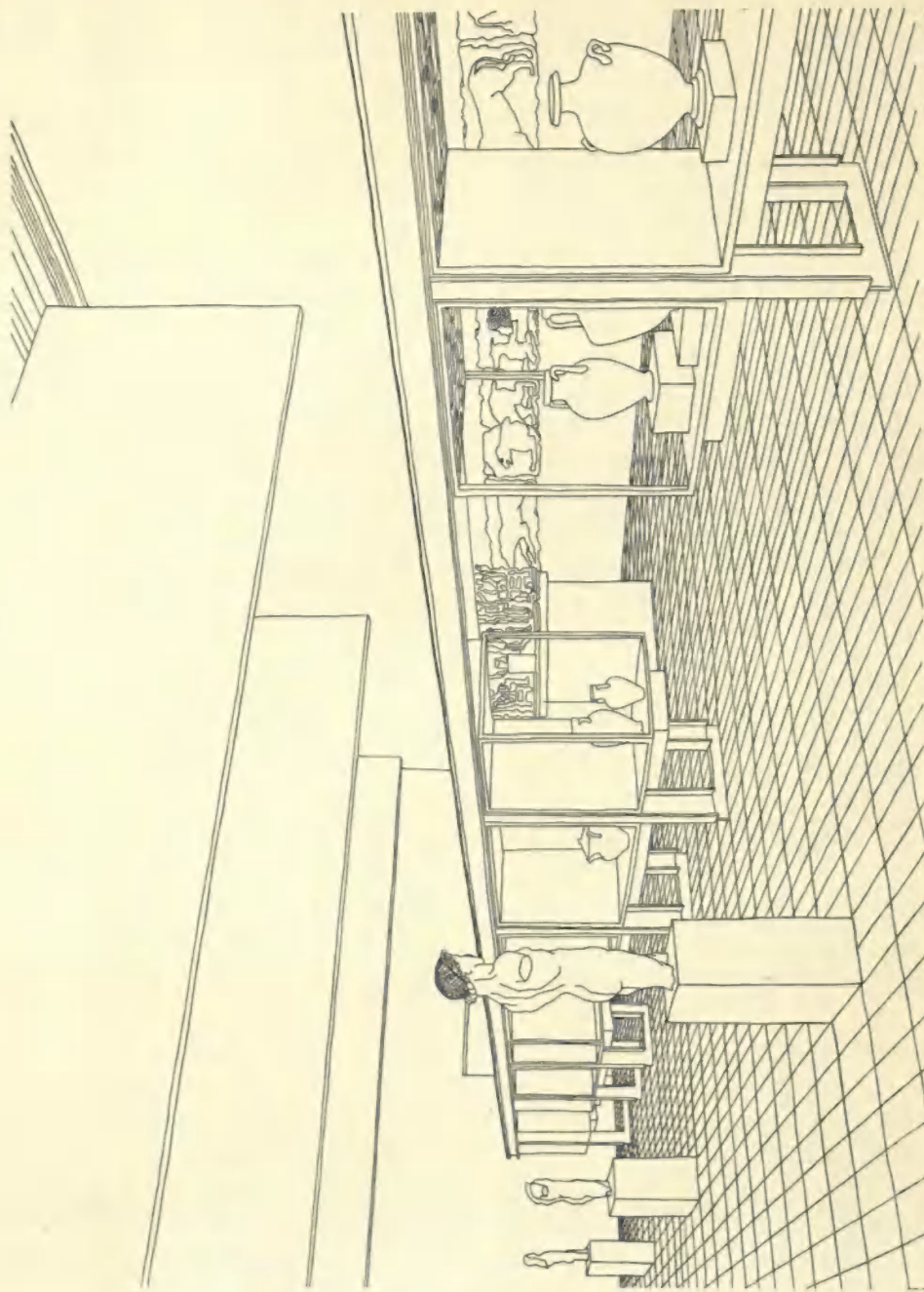
This room will contain Cycladic marble idols and vessels from the third millennium B.C. In this period there is no sculpture of the scale needed to stand alone in either of the niches so these will be filled in with recessed showcases.

*The Minoan and Mycenaean Room* (the present Third Graeco-Roman Room)

This room will contain pottery, terracottas, bronzes and jewellery of the period 2500-1100 B.C. in three showcases along the South wall. Between each pair of cases, and on the opposite wall, will be wooden slabs at table level supporting Minoan terracotta bathtubs, chests and large storage jars. The present lantern lights will be retained and the perimeter of these will be used to house spot lights for all objects not in cases.

The West end of the room will be screened off with a 10-foot high dividing wall and the present Apse will be filled in leaving an opening to the Restaurant staircase. This end of the room will be devoted to architectural fragments from the beehive tomb known as the 'Treasury of Atreus' at Mycenae.





Carol Russell

*1st Classical Room. View from the south-west corner. The Harpy Tomb can be seen through the showcases*

### *First Archaic Room (the present Archaic Room)*

The Architects felt that the high level architectural details in the upper part of the room were too assertive to be ignored. Large baffles will therefore be suspended from the ceilings (see dotted lines on the plan). These baffles will be approximately 10 feet deep and will mask the existing ceilings, provide convenient attachments for lighting points and lower the effective height of the room. They will also reflect light from the windows for the seated figures from Branchidae. The exhibits in the First Archaic Room will consist of a progression of pottery from the Geometric period until the close of the Black-figure period (1000–500 B.C.). These will be displayed in the three central showcases together with terracottas, bronzes, jewellery, etc., covering a similar period. Further examples will be shown in cases on the North wall. Some larger Geometric pots will be shown in the open on a tiled platform at the East end of the room.

Most of the sculpture in this room is from Xanthos in Lycia. The free-standing sculpture will stand on bases directly related to the module of the ceramic floor tiling to achieve a unity and discipline which will be maintained throughout the rest of the rooms. The splendid Cock-and-Hen frieze has the West wall to itself.

### *Second Archaic Room (the present Ephesus Ante-Room)*

In this room the ceiling is to be lowered. Two marble kouroi from the sixth century B.C. are to be displayed here.

### *First Classical Room (the present Ephesus Room)*

As in the First Archaic Room the ceiling is to be partially masked by four deep baffles. The only free-standing sculpture is the large and important Harpy Tomb from Xanthos. Friezes and reliefs are mounted on the East wall. The rest of the material, a selection of the finest fifth century red-figure ware together with bronzes and terracottas of the same period, is concentrated into a range of double-sided showcases which runs the full length of the room. Openings in this allow for circulation. Against the West wall will be displayed three marble figures, one of which will be the Strangford Apollo.

### *The Present Large Elgin Room*

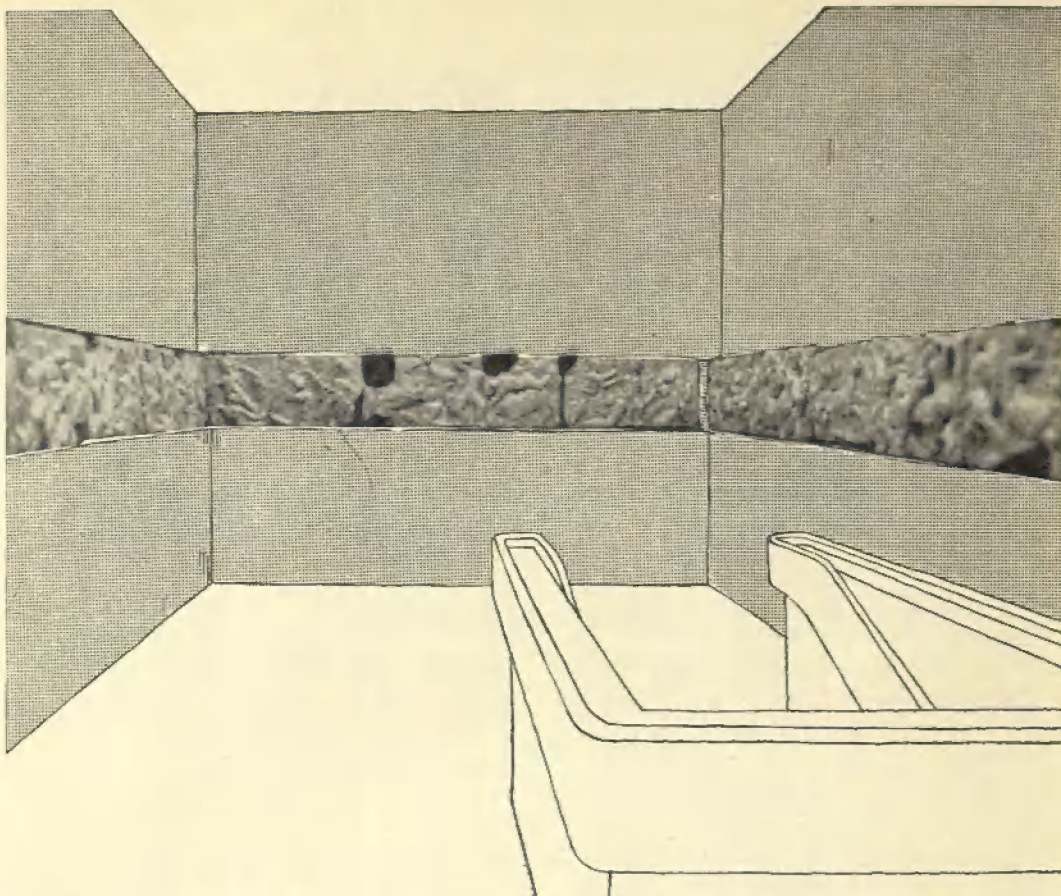
This room presents unusual problems in having to house two specially large and important groups—the interior frieze from the cella of the Temple of Apollo at Bassae and the Nereid Monument from Xanthos.

### *Bassae Room*

The special problem related to this frieze was that, being complete, four-sided and internal, it was important that access should be provided without interrupting the frieze. The only practical way to achieve this form of access is from below. The room to house the frieze will therefore be raised to mezzanine level at the South end of the Large Elgin Room. It was very fortunate that the overall length of the frieze corresponded with the width of the existing gallery.

The new room will be dark—the frieze only being lighted.





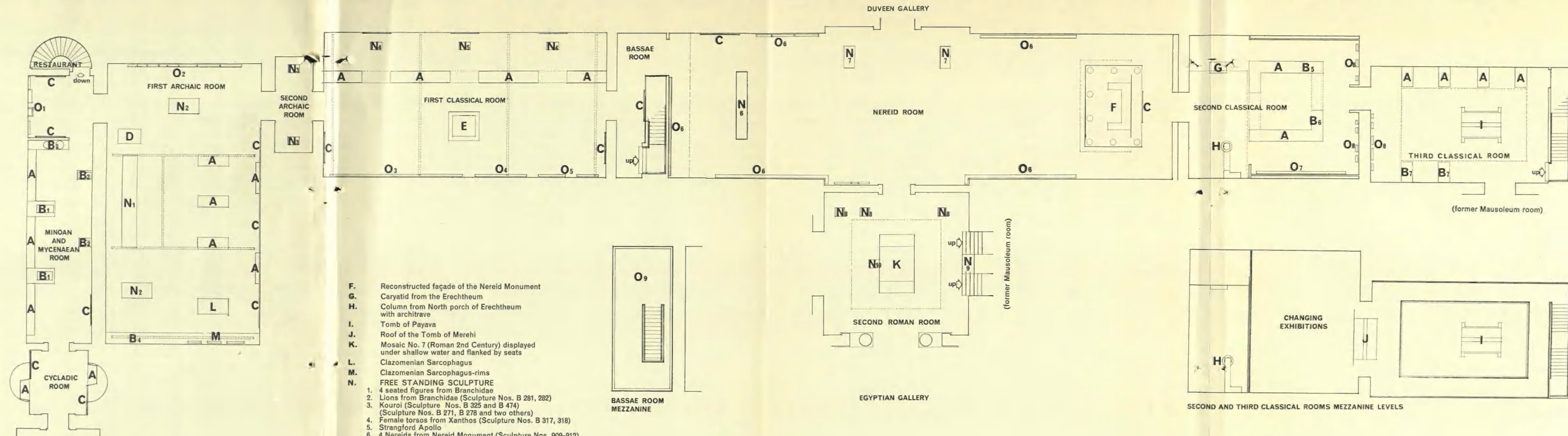
*Bassae Room. View of the mezzanine level from the east end of the room*

#### *Nereid Room*

The material from the Nereid Monument is complete enough to allow a reconstruction of one end of the Building. The Monument is in the form of a small classical Greek temple raised on a tall podium, round the top of which ran two friezes one superimposed on the other. The peristyle is 9 feet 6 inches and the top of the pediment is 26 feet 6 inches from the floor. (The height of the room is 28 feet.)

The spectator emerges at ground level from the enclosure of the Bassae Room into the spaciousness of the main hall to see at the far end the free standing reconstruction of the main façade of the Nereid Monument. The proximity of the top of the monument to the ceiling of the room requires the simplification of the existing ceiling and lantern lights in its immediate area. This will be achieved by means of a plain false ceiling curving down into a plain wall behind the temple. This curved surface offers an opportunity for background lighting suggestive of a clear bright sky. The parts of the friezes and other architectural details not accommodated on the reconstruction will be displayed round the walls and in the room as shown on the plan.





# KEY

- A. SHOWCASE
- B. OPEN DISPLAY SHELF
  1. Minoan terracotta bathtubs
  2. Minoan terracotta chests
  3. Minoan terracotta storage jars
  4. Large Geometric vases
  5. Recumbent bull (Sculpture No. 680)
  6. Funerary Relief (Sculpture No. 625)
  7. Large South Italian red figure vases
- C. Display panel for small exhibits and/or information and maps
- D. Lion Tomb
- E. Harpy Tomb

- F. Reconstructed façade of the Nereid Monument
- G. Caryatid from the Erechtheum
- H. Column from North porch of Erechtheum with architrave
- I. Tomb of Payava
- J. Roof of the Tomb of Merehi
- K. Mosaic No. 7 (Roman 2nd Century) displayed under shallow water and flanked by seats
- L. Clazomenian Sarcophagus
- M. Clazomenian Sarcophagus-rims
- N. FREE STANDING SCULPTURE
  1. 4 seated figures from Branchidae
  2. Lions from Branchidae (Sculpture Nos. B 281, 282)
  3. Kouroi (Sculpture Nos. B 325 and B 474) (Sculpture Nos. B 271, B 278 and two others)
  4. Female torsos from Xanthos (Sculpture Nos. B 317, 318)
  5. Strangford Apollo
  6. 4 Nereids from Nereid Monument (Sculpture Nos. 909-912)
  7. Lions from Nereid Monument (Sculpture Nos. 929, 930)
  8. Roman copies of Greek Statues (Sculpture Nos. 209, 500, 1754)
  9. Apollo from Cyrene (Sculpture No. 1380)
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  5. Gable reliefs from Xanthos (Sculpture Nos. B 290, 291)
  6. Friezes of the Nereid Monument
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  8. Funerary and votive reliefs
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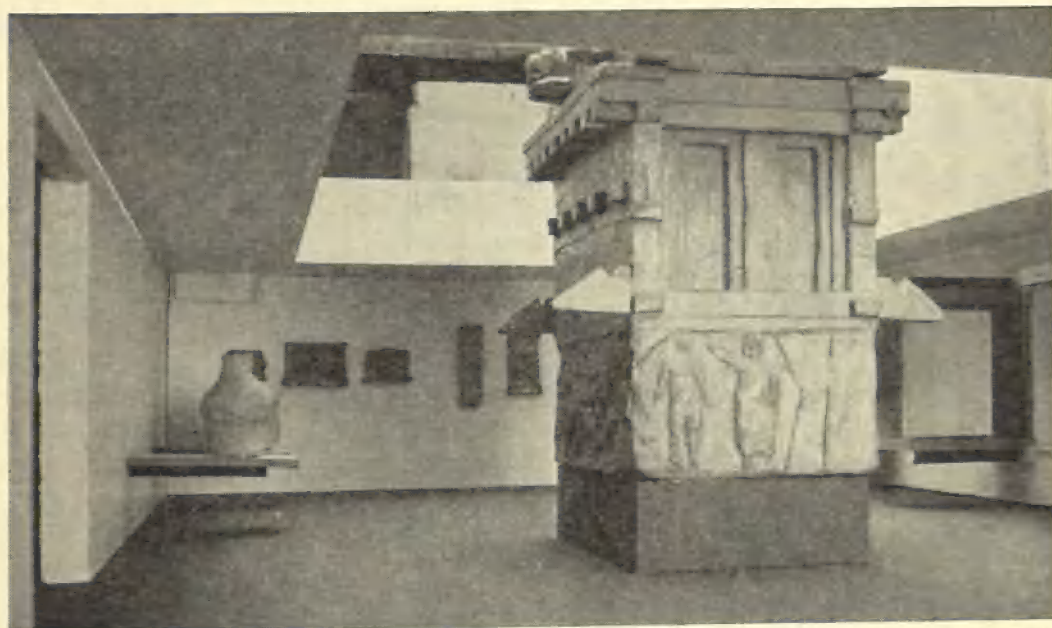


### *Second and Third Classical Rooms (formerly the Small Elgin Room and Metope Room)*

The nature of the exhibits in these two rooms dictates major structural alterations. The Third Classical Room will contain as its main exhibit the Tomb of Payava from Xanthos. This is a very large stone monument roughly 10 by 7 feet on plan and 20 feet high. As most of the finest carving occurs on the slopes of the roof, the Architects saw no alternative to the provision of a mezzanine gallery from which all sides of the monument can be seen.

A similar carved roof from the Tomb of Merehi, again from Xanthos, will also be displayed in these rooms. The Architects considered that both roofs should be seen at the same level. A large opening will therefore be cut between the two rooms at mezzanine level; the tremendous weight of the roof (14 tons) will rest directly on the existing wall. Circulation round this exhibit has necessitated the provision of a corresponding mezzanine level in the Second Classical Room (see plan).

The most important exhibits will be in the Second Classical Room, the Caryatid from the Erechtheum, and a column and capital from the North porch of the same temple. The new mezzanine floor has enabled the Architects to suggest the relationship of the Caryatid to the structure which it supports and to provide a convenient view point for the capital of the column and its ante-capital. Under this floor is an area for the display of smaller objects. Late classical pottery and associated bronzes, terracottas, etc., will be shown in a complex of cases in the centre of the room. The friezes from the Temple of Nike will be shown on the East wall and various late classical funerary and votive reliefs on the North wall.



Daniel Russell

*3rd Classical Room. Photograph of the Architects' model from the north-east corner with the Tomb of Payava in the foreground*



It is proposed that the second floor of the Classical Room mezzanine shall be used for changing exhibitions illustrating the history of the Collection.

The Third Classical Room will open into the former Mausoleum Room, which is being redesigned by the Ministry of Public Building and Works on two floors. The main floor will accommodate:

- (i) the sculptures of the Mausoleum and the later Artemisium of Ephesus;
- (ii) the Demeter of Cnidus;
- (iii) Hellenistic sculpture and minor arts;
- (iv) Roman sculpture and minor arts.

Under the main floor there will be a Room of Architectural Sculpture and a Lecture Theatre.

*The Second Roman Room* (formerly the Elgin Ante-Room)

The main feature of the room will be a Roman mosaic of the second century A.D. displayed under shallow water to bring out its colours. The pool thus formed will be flanked on two sides by seats.

This room will also contain Roman copies of Greek sculpture.

## THE FIFTY-YEAR RULE

The Trustees of the British Museum have been reconsidering their policy with regard to the reservation from public use of papers forming part of their collections which are of possible value to historical and other students. Generally speaking, these papers are those of modern statesmen, diplomats and other persons who have taken part in Government service or public life. Hitherto they have normally been reserved for 50 years from the date of the creation of the paper.

In the future they will observe the following rules:

- (1) Where the donor of a collection makes his own stipulations as to restriction of access and the Trustees accept or have accepted the collection subject to those stipulations, the stipulations will be observed.
- (2) Papers which are clearly identifiable by their marking as being the property of H.M. Government will be reserved under the existing 50-year rule as applied to Departmental papers. This restriction is maintained in order to harmonize with the current Departmental practice and would be reviewed if there was any change in that practice.

Subject to these two qualifications, it is not the intention of the Trustees for the future to impose any restrictions on access to such papers as they have described and this policy is intended to be applied to all such papers, whether now or in the future forming part of the Museum collections.

## FIFTEENTH-CENTURY BOOKS

Through the enlightened generosity of the Friends of the National Libraries the Department of Printed Books has been enabled to acquire three exceptionally important fifteenth-century books printed in Paris. Two of these, which in the present copy were bound together at an early date, are works by the canon-lawyer Nicolaus Panormitanus (1386-1445), the *Super Clementinis Constitutionibus* printed in 1475 by Caesaris and Stoll, and the *Judiciarius ordo*, produced by the anonymous 'Printer of Ockam' in August, 1476. The 'Printer of Ockam' came fifth in chronological order among more than fifty presses founded in Paris between 1470 and 1500, and his works, all of which are of the utmost rarity, were hitherto unrepresented in the Museum's collection. His type, of an attractive and distinctive roman design varied with gothic elements, is a smaller version of Caesaris and Stoll's, and the fact that books by one author from both presses are here found together gives fresh evidence of a possible connection between the two presses. The present volume is wide-margined and fine, and notable for its gold-illuminated initials and an unusual fore-edge title in gold on purple.

Another notable acquisition is the first and only edition of *La reigle de devotion des epistres de Sainct Ierosme*, a French translation, together with the original Latin text, of letters by St Jerome on the rules for female monastic life. This contains two charming woodcuts, and was printed by Le Petit Laurens in the autumn of 1500, and issued simultaneously at Paris and Bourges by the well known publisher Geoffroy de Marnef. The translator, Guy Jouvenaux, was abbot of St Sulpice at Bourges, and a campaigner for monastic reform, a subject on which he produced his own proposals, *Vindiciae monasticae reformationis*, with the same publisher in 1503, besides a translation of the *Rule of St Benedict*, 7 September 1500, which is a companion piece for the St Jerome. Textually this attractive little volume is an important early document in the movement for reform within the Catholic Church, which was destined to be strengthened rather than hampered by the revolution of Luther (who in 1500 was still a schoolboy at Magdeburg), became paramount during the century of the Counter-Reformation, and continues with renewed vigour in our own time. Typographically it supplies new evidence for dating the works of Le Petit Laurens, and for the earliest extension of de Marnef's business from Paris to the French provinces. Only two other copies are known to survive. The Friends of the National Libraries met the entire cost of the St Jerome, and made a substantial contribution towards the purchase of the Panormitanus.

### SAVONAROLA

The Department has also added four new items to its strong collection of the works of a more famous and ill-fated precursor of the Reformation, the Dominican preacher Savonarola, who between 1494 and his death at the stake in 1498 became the virtual dictator of Florence. These acquisitions, all printed in Florence during the years 1491-7, include one of the two editions of Savonarola's sermon on Ascension Day, 1497, the only separate editions of two of his propaganda letters, and a little volume of advice to widows



(*Della vita viduale*), printed in 1491 by Francesco Bonaccorsi, a priest who was probably a relative of Savonarola himself. This is of special interest as being the first edition of any work by Savonarola.

## A SOUND GUIDE TO THE SCULPTURES OF THE PARTHENON IN THE DUVEEN GALLERY

The Sound Guide is a new self-guiding system by which commentary is available at the press of a control switch on a portable tape player.

The intention is to extend Sound Guide to various departments of the British Museum, with commentaries in several languages. A second tape is likely to be a tour of some of the most interesting individual exhibits in the Museum, such as Magna Carta, the Rosetta Stone and the Egyptian Mummies.

The advantages of the Sound Guide system are many. The user can enjoy a self-contained commentary which enables him to look around in his own time. He can enjoy a wealth of fascinating, and accurate, information which strikes a happy balance between the scholarly and the popular. Two people can use one machine, for each machine has two stethophones with ample flex, and the ear tips of the stethophones are changed after each use.

The cost of hiring a Sound Guide at the Duveen Gallery is 2s 6d for one person, 3s 6d for two using the same machine.

The commentary, which lasts for 45 minutes, was compiled from basic material supplied by the Greek and Roman Department of the British Museum.

The commentator is C. Gordon Glover.

A French version will shortly be available, recorded by Max Bellancourt.

★ ★ ★

### TEMPORARY EXHIBITIONS:

INDIAN PAINTINGS OF THE PANJAB HILLS, XVII-XIX CENTURY and  
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 viii + 54 pp., 6 plates,  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  in. *July 27 7s 6d*
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*Mackays of Chatham*

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